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Anna McSweeney

***THE GREEN AND THE BROWN: A STUDY OF PATERNA  
CERAMICS IN MUDÉJAR SPAIN***

Volume 1 (Text)

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

PhD THESIS

2012

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is an art historical analysis of the tin-glazed ceramics decorated with green and brown pigments which were made in Paterna, in Spain, in the fourteenth century. The potters who made them were mostly mudéjares, Muslims working under Christian rule in the Crown of Aragon; the use of the term mudéjar and the notion of *convivencia* are explored in the theoretical framework.

Far from being a small, local production site, this thesis reveals a sophisticated and complex ceramics industry through its exploration of the history and production of these ceramics. The Paterna potters were part of a western Mediterranean movement in tin-glazed ceramics, which exploited new connections in international trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They used Islamic production techniques, but adapted their typologies to include a range of forms that were new to ceramics in the region. The iconographical study demonstrates that the potters drew on a wide variety of sources, from both west and east, to create the motifs that decorate the ceramics.

The corpus of material which forms the basis for this study is illustrated in the Catalogue, as a separate volume which, for the first time, brings together images of all the ceramics of this type.



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### **Notes on dating and transliteration**

Dating is given according to the year of the Christian Era. The transliteration used in this thesis for Arabic is derived from the English Transliteration System in *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*. When called for, I have used the Castilian rather than Catalan or Valencian languages, except for the name of Jaume I, who as king of the Crown of Aragon is usually referred to in this form.

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*Fig.186* Miniature painting from a thirteenth-century French *Roman de la Rose* manuscript. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr.1559, f1v. (Image © BN, France.)

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*Fig.189* Lustre-painted *bacino*, al-Andalus (Murcia?), early twelfth century. From the facade of the church of S. Andrea, Pisa. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa Inv.201. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.)

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## Part One

## **Chapter One**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The subject of this thesis is the green and brown tin-glazed ceramics made in Paterna, a town five kilometres west of Valencia in eastern Spain. This tableware was made mostly by Muslim potters who were living under Christian rule in the fourteenth century.

This green and brown ware (henceforth 'Paterna ware'), which has been excavated and collected in large quantities in Spain since the first part of the twentieth century, has been examined by archaeologists, curators and historians who have published several studies on the material within these fields. But within the field of art history it has tended to fall between the scholarly gaps: it is neither Islamic enough for art historians of the Islamic world nor western enough for the scholars of European art history. Furthermore, within the field of ceramics it has been studied alongside, or as a precursor to, the luxury, lustre-painted ceramics made in the same area in the following centuries, rather than as a distinct ceramic movement in its own right.

This thesis attempts to make the first comprehensive, art-historical analysis of the ceramics, which takes into account all the archaeological and historical evidence and brings a focus on the extraordinary imagery that is the essence of Paterna ware. It places Paterna ware within its own tradition of tin-glazed, green and brown pottery made in the western Mediterranean. It incorporates recent thinking on the status of Mudéjar populations in medieval Spain, and attempts to create a theoretical framework within which art that was produced in a hybrid culture, such as Mudéjar Paterna, can be examined.

This thesis represents the first comprehensive study of Paterna ware in the English language; it presents the material within the context of current theories and debates in both Spanish scholarship and the wider European scholarship.

Paterna ware was of course not the only type of ceramic made in the area. Within the same workshop areas there was an important contemporary ceramics industry making unglazed earthenware for transport, storage and industrial use and transparent glazed ware was also made for cooking purposes. Decorative tiles (known as *socarrats*), blue and white glazed ware as well as lustre-painted and blue and lustre-painted ware were also made in Manises and Paterna at a slightly later date. But although precise dating of the ceramics is a contentious issue, Paterna ware represents the first large-scale production of glazed and decorated tableware in the region. These potters used the Islamic techniques of firing, glazing and decorating their pottery, on typologies that they had adapted to the latest demands from the changing population of post-conquest Valencia. They decorated these ceramics with a lively mix of images drawn evidently from the world around them, from Islamic textiles, Christian church interiors, literary sources and popular folk tales, to name a few. For these reasons - as the earliest decorated tableware made by these potters in post-conquest, Mudéjar Paterna, for a new market in a rapidly changing demographic - Paterna ware comprises a unique ceramic corpus which is worthy of its own art historical analysis.

An art-historical analysis of Paterna ware is only possible because these ceramics have been gathered together in collections during the twentieth century and identified as Paterna ware. There is little doubt that similar ceramics were made in other centres, probably contemporaneously with Paterna - archaeological investigations have already shown this to be true in Valencia city and future research will probably reveal more centres of production. However, unlike other centres for which a large corpus of material is not available, the workshop sites at Paterna have been extensively excavated and documented over the previous century and there is a large corpus of material with a known Paterna provenance in the museum collections. Documentary evidence shows that there were workshops in Paterna and that there was a thriving ceramics industry there in the fourteenth century. For this reason, the text focuses on

the production of ceramics in Paterna and the Catalogue comprises only the ceramics that are attributed to Paterna.

Glazed ceramics play a very important role in Spanish history, especially during the Islamic and medieval periods; indeed, the history of material culture in the Iberian peninsula could be told through its decorated ceramics. But Paterna ware was made at a particularly fascinating moment in this history: it flourished just after the turmoil of the Christian conquests had begun to subside and before the devastation of the Black Death and the wars with Castile had taken their terrible toll. This was a flicker of light in a dark time, a brief moment in history when Mudéjar potters could work with Christian merchants to produce this distinctive tableware for the mixed patronage of the local area.<sup>1</sup> Fifty years earlier and the economic and physical disruptions of the conquests would have stopped production and any real market for the goods; fifty years later and plague and war were to devastate the communities and change their make-up forever. This thesis attempts to shed some light on how and why this kind of pottery was made at this time in Paterna, by whom and for whom. The chapters in Part One provide an historical and theoretical framework, within which the practical matters of production can be fully understood in the chapters of Part Two, while Part Three comprises a detailed iconographical analysis.

## Part One

The four chapters of Part One introduce the scholarly, historical and theoretical frameworks within which Paterna ware can be studied. Paterna ware was first officially excavated in the early twentieth century, and the turbulent history of Spain in that century, both during and after the rule of General Franco (1939-1975), greatly informed the way these ceramics were collected and discussed. Chapter Three attempts to give an historical context to the ceramics, focusing on the history of medieval Paterna, its

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<sup>1</sup> Mudéjar is the term used to refer to the Muslim population that remained after the Christians conquered al-Andalus.

conquest and population, as well as factors – such as irrigation and the status of the Mudéjar population – which were vital to the establishment of a ceramics industry in the town.

Theoretical issues are addressed in Chapter Four, which examines the legitimacy of the term Mudéjar and its broader application to an artistic style as well as the extent to which it is relevant to the study of Paterna ware. Modern politics and relations between Islam and the west have coloured the way we look at the history of al-Andalus and medieval Spain. This theoretical section will address the idea of *convivencia* and questions whether it is a useful term to describe relations in fourteenth-century Paterna.

## Part Two

Part Two of the thesis deals with the physical material of the pottery itself, from the composition of the clay to the shapes the potters formed from it; the way it was glazed to its excavation and distribution centuries later in museum collections. Typologies are examined in Chapter Six, both to determine the function of the different shapes, and to discover how Paterna ware may have been consumed and by whom. The relationship of these typologies to earlier ceramic forms from al-Andalus, reveals both similarities and differences, the importance of which are discussed here.

This tension between Islamic traditional techniques and fourteenth-century developments in taste and habit, is also explored in the detailed look at how Paterna ware was produced. The materials and their sources are the subject of Chapter Seven, in particular the importation of tin for the tin glaze, which identifies the extent of the potters' trade relations with other cultures, which is in turn a reflection of the level of sophistication reached by these medieval workshops. This was not a local pottery making simple vessels out of whatever materials could be found within the area, but a complex system which relied on international trade links for raw materials; which

demanded a high level of technical knowledge, invested in sophisticated firing techniques and expensive glazing materials, and used skilled artists to decorate the ware.

Chapter Eight examines the evidence for dating Paterna ware, which places it firmly in the early fourteenth century. It is clear from the second part of this chapter, that Paterna ware was part of a wider movement that stretched much further than the Valencia region, when it is placed in the wider context of the production of similar green and brown ceramics across the western Mediterranean up to the fourteenth century.

### Part Three

Paterna ware has never been known for its fine potting or use of radical new techniques; rather it has been collected and enjoyed for its wide range of engaging images that are painted in a clear and direct style. These are the subject of Part Three, which looks at the sources and interpretation of the iconography. It begins by addressing thematic issues of possible links with other media and traditions.

The theory that Paterna ware was part of a more widespread style of painting, shared with other contemporary media, is explored in relation to comparisons with the painted wooden ceilings of churches in the towns of Liria and Teruel and the contemporary ceramics also made in Teruel. An important stylistic source for much of the figurative imagery in Paterna ware can be found in the lyrical tradition of courtly love, which flourished in al-Andalus, southern France and the medieval Crown of Aragon; the relevance of this tradition is discussed here. Individual recurring motifs are then studied in detail, using art historical methods that examine the imagery in the context of other related media, in an attempt to tease out the origins and meaning of the iconography.

The title of this thesis 'The Green and the Brown: Paterna ceramics in Mudéjar Spain', refers to the tradition of decorating tin-glazed ceramics in the western Mediterranean with green and brown pigments, a tradition which is explored in detail in Chapter Eight. This style of ceramic decoration is often referred to in Spanish as 'verde y marrón' or 'verde y manganoso' ('green and brown' or 'green and manganese'); while the expression is used again in the title of an important French publication from 1995 of an exhibition entitled 'Le Vert et le Brun', which drew together many of these types of early and medieval ceramics from the western Mediterranean region for the first time.<sup>2</sup> In Valencia in particular, this description is used to distinguish Paterna ware from the later lustre-painted and blue and white ceramics. As the thesis title suggests, this thesis isolates this material from Paterna and places it in the context of Mudéjar Spain.

Volume Two of this thesis comprises a Catalogue, which includes all the available Paterna ware in private and public collections in Spain and western Europe, photographed and published together for the first time as a comprehensive overview of the style.<sup>3</sup>

While this study relies greatly on the work of archaeologists and historians, its primary focus is an art-historical one, which for the first time takes the decorated ceramics, their techniques and iconography, and examines the art-historical context within which they were made. Paterna ware has tended to fall between two worlds in scholarship. This thesis places it at the centre of the story rather than at the margins of al-Andalus or medieval Europe. By focusing on Paterna ware it reveals a flourishing and vibrant movement in ceramics that cannot be classified as Islamic or Christian, but rather as a vivid expression of the changing world of the western Mediterranean in the fourteenth century.

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<sup>2</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun de Kairouan à Avignon, Céramiques du X<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Marseille, Chapelle de la Vieille Charité: Musées de Marseille, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> While all available material was included and efforts were made to track down pieces in private collections and one-off dispersed pieces, the Catalogue does not claim to include *all* existing Paterna ware. There are numerous small private collections which have been dispersed and are not traceable.

## Chapter Two

### LITERATURE REVIEW

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, long before Valencia was declared an autonomous community in the 1980s, a kind of cultural renaissance began in many of the regions of Spain, which celebrated and promoted the distinct customs, languages and history of particular areas as distinct from that of a national Spain. In Valencia, this sense of regional identity, with a separate language, history and culture, began to gain in popularity. It was in this atmosphere of a renewed pride in the local and a growing desire to demonstrate the distinctiveness of Valencian culture, that Paterna ware was first excavated, researched and written about.

The cultural organisation *Lo Rat Penat*, was founded in 1878, primarily to promote Valencian language, history and culture.<sup>1</sup> Paterna ceramics, which were first excavated in 1907 from a field five kilometres west of the city of Valencia, provided a perfect example of home-grown Valencian history and culture. It is no coincidence that Paterna ware was first exhibited at an exhibition organised by *Lo Rat Penat* in 1908 (with a list of the works exhibited, including seven pieces of Paterna ware, printed in their journal),<sup>2</sup> nor that the later president of the organisation (from 1928-1930 and 1949-58), Manuel González Martí was a major collector and scholar of Valencian ceramics in the early twentieth century. The regional identity was linked with a wider sense of linguistic and cultural community among the Catalan speaking regions of Catalonia and Valencia, as well as southern France, and the Balearic Islands. González Martí highlighted this sense of a wider cultural community in his major book on the ceramics of this region, *La Cerámica del Levante Español*, which included

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Sala i Giner, 'Naiximent de lo Rat Penat (1878-1902)', in Federico Martínez Roda (ed.), *Història de Lo Rat Penat* (Valencia, 2000), pp.25-120. The phrase 'lo rat penat' is the Valencian language term for 'bat' in English, the symbol of the city of Valencia.

<sup>2</sup> Manuel González Martí, 'La exposicion retrospectiva del Rat-Penat', *Impresiones*, 16th July 1908 (Valencia, 1908), pp.173-174.



ceramics from the western Mediterranean and southern France with those from eastern Spain.<sup>3</sup>

The recognition by the Spanish government of the Autonomous Community of Valencia in 1982 led to a resurgence of interest in Valencian culture in the late twentieth century. Regional budgets were made available to fund the second major wave of excavations in Paterna in the 1980s, and the results were published which stimulated more scholarship on the subject.

It is against this twentieth-century political phenomenon of nationalism and the emergence of regional identities that the literature on Paterna ware should be reviewed. Key issues which have preoccupied scholars, such as the question of who made the ceramics and when they were made, are bound up with regional loyalties and often with an underlying desire to promote the importance and longevity of the cultural history of Valencia. Some scholars have tended to focus on the issues of chronology and dating of the ceramics and on the question of whether the workshops were a continuation from pre-existing Islamic workshops or were established under Christian rule, questions which are bound up with the debate over whether Teruel ceramics (from Aragon) or Paterna ceramics (from Valencia) were made first.

This political background and regional focus does not diminish the international importance of the Paterna ceramics in the fields of art history and archaeology. But it may have led to a certain isolation of the scholarship on Paterna ware and a tendency for much of the literature on the subject to look at Paterna ware as part of the closed world of Valencian ceramics and culture. This has been at the expense of a broader look at the subject within the context of the medieval Mediterranean, which sees

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<sup>3</sup> Manuel González Martí, *Cerámica Del Levante Espanol. Siglos Medievales* (3 vols., Barcelona, 1952).

Paterna ware as part of a much larger movement of techniques, styles and trends, which I hope my study will attempt to redress.

### **Historical scholarship**

This focus on when the ceramics were made and by whom has been a preoccupation of archival historians, curators and archaeologists since Paterna ware was first excavated in the early twentieth century, a question which has continued to preoccupy scholars until very recently.<sup>4</sup>

The material which was dug up from the excavation sites in Paterna over the course of the five years from 1907 to 1911 stimulated the leading scholar and collector of Hispano-Moresque ceramics, Guillermo de Osma y Scull, to produce the first major works on the subject, which looked at Paterna ware alongside Manises lustre-painted ceramics.<sup>5</sup>

The manner in which the excavations at Paterna were carried out meant that little other than the ceramics themselves were revealed – plans, drawings, photographs or descriptions of the process were almost completely lacking. De Osma's focus in his investigations into Valencian ceramics was therefore necessarily on documentary evidence about potters and their workshops in the Valencian archives. Between 1906 and 1911 he published his three volume work: volumes one and three focused on

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<sup>4</sup>Pedro López Elum and Jaume Coll Conesa, *La producción cerámica de lujo en la Baja Edad Media: Manises y Paterna. Los materiales de los recipientes para uso alimentario. Su evolución y cambios según los inventarios notariales* (Valencia, 2005).

<sup>5</sup>Guillermo Joaquín de Osma y Scull, *Apuntes sobre Cerámica Morisca. Textos y Documentos Valencianos* (3 vols., Madrid, 1906).

fifteenth-century lustreware made in Manises;<sup>6</sup> volume two looked at documents from the fourteenth century including those pertaining to Paterna.<sup>7</sup>

The publication of De Osma's supplement to volume two of his publication in 1911 confirmed the existence of two separate workshop areas in Paterna from a document dated 1403.<sup>8</sup> The contracts studied in this supplement also revealed a contract from 1317 for ceramics from a Paterna potter, which brought back the date of the Paterna workshops by a century from what was previously thought.<sup>9</sup>

These valuable publications by De Osma were not only the first major works to focus on Valencian ceramics, they also represented the first significant work on Paterna ware. His archival research opened the debate on when the ceramics were made, as well as confirming the existence of workshops in the town (the failure of the excavators to retain evidence of kiln sites which were apparently found during the digs at Paterna meant that Paterna as a site of production was not proved until these documentary sources published by De Osma confirmed it).

In 1919 Almarche published an article on potters' marks and tools found on Paterna unglazed earthenware.<sup>10</sup> But it was not until 1921 that the then director of the Museu d'Art i d'Arqueologia in Barcelona (the ceramics from which would form the basis of the present day Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona), Joaquín Folch i Torres published the first serious work which was exclusively dedicated to Paterna ware.<sup>11</sup> This short but

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<sup>6</sup> De Osma, *Apuntes sobre Cerámica Morisca. Textos y Documentos Valencianos*. Vol.1: *La loza dorada de Manises en el año 1454. Cartas de la Reina de Aragón a Don Pedro Boil* (Madrid, 1906). *Apuntes sobre Cerámica Morisca. Textos y Documentos Valencianos*. Vol.3: *Las Divisas del Rey en los pavimentos de Obra de Manises del castillo de Nápoles. Años 1446-1458* (Madrid, 1909).

<sup>7</sup> De Osma, *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca. Textos y documentos valencianos*. Vol.2: *Los Maestros Alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia. Contratos y ordenanzas de los siglos XIV, XV y XVI* (Madrid, 1908).

<sup>8</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones a los Textos y Documentos Valencianos* (Madrid, 1911), p.14.

<sup>9</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones*, contract no.2.

<sup>10</sup> Francisco Almarche, 'Marcas Alfareras de Paterna', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 4 (Valencia, 1919) pp.35-47.

<sup>11</sup> Joaquín Folch i Torres, *Notícies sobre la ceràmica de Paterna* (Barcelona, 1921).

significant work focused on the collection acquired by the museum from one of the excavators, Gómez Novella, and coincided more or less with the programme of restoration of the Paterna ceramics in Barcelona.

Although concerned with documentary evidence, Folch i Torres recognised the importance of archaeological material and directly criticised the excavators who had left no documentary material that could help with classification and dating of the ceramics. Like De Osma, he was interested in the dating of Paterna ware and suggested that Paterna ware disappeared in the fourteenth century with the introduction of lustreware from Malaga, only to reappear in Teruel, a chronology that was to be accepted by scholars and archaeologists throughout the twentieth century. But this concern with chronology also led Folch i Torres to broaden the study of Paterna ware, by suggesting that similarities with the caliphal green and brown ware of al-Andalus indicated that the production of Paterna ware began under Islamic rule and continued through the thirteenth century under Christian rule. This important contribution was followed by two further studies of Paterna ware by the same author in 1926 and 1931.<sup>12</sup>

The work of Folch i Torres stimulated Pijoan to write an article in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1923, two years later, which was the first publication in English on Paterna ware.<sup>13</sup> Pijoan was a Catalan medieval historian who left Spain in 1910 to work in California from where he wrote this article in 1923. His contacts in Barcelona, particularly with Folch i Torres, his interest in Spanish art particularly from the medieval period, and his facility with the English language made him an ideal person to introduce Paterna ware to an Anglophone readership.<sup>14</sup> In his article, Pijoan discussed the

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<sup>12</sup> Folch i Torres, 'La ceràmica de Paterna, al museu de Barcelona', *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 2 (Barcelona, 1926) pp.192-196. Folch i Torres, *El tresor artístic de Catalunya. La ceràmica de Paterna* (Barcelona, 1931).

<sup>13</sup> Jose Pijoan, 'New Data on Hispano-Moresque Ceramics', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 43:245 (London, 1923), pp.76-81.

<sup>14</sup> Xavier Barral i Altet, *Josep Pijoan: del salvament del patrimoni artístic català la història general de l'art* (Barcelona, 1999).

caliphal green and brown wares from Madinat al-Zahra and Medina Elvira which he placed together with Paterna ware as 'the original Hispano-Moresque ware' which was replaced by lustreware in the eleventh century, but continued to be made at Paterna and Teruel 'until modern times'.<sup>15</sup>

The acquisition of Paterna ware by Folch i Torres, on behalf of the Barcelona museum, stimulated the interest of scholars abroad; in particular it led to the first article on the subject by an Islamic art historian in 1925. The renowned German Islamicist, Ernst Kühnel, published a short article entitled 'Keramik von Paterna' in the journal of the Berlin museums, in which he announced the identification of the Valencian origins of three ceramic fragments at the Berlin Museum of 'Moorish faience', specifically identifying them as green and brown Paterna ware, as a result of comparison with the material recently purchased by the Barcelona museum (that directed by Folch i Torres).<sup>16</sup> His article restated the theory first mentioned by both Folch i Torres and Pijoan, that Paterna ware was part of the same tradition as the caliphal ware associated with Madinat al-Zahra and Medina Elvira, but went further by suggesting that future ceramic finds might fill the gap which separates the tenth-century material from the fourteenth-century Paterna ware (I discuss this theory in more detail in Chapter Eight). He was the first to link Paterna ware with Italian production, particularly noting similarities with Orvieto ware.

At a similar time in Italy, Gaetano Ballardini, the director of the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza, wrote in Italian about the ceramics excavated in Paterna.<sup>17</sup>

The librarian at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Albert Van de Put, made an important contribution to the archival study of Paterna ware. A specialist in heraldry, his 1938 work was written as a companion to the De Osma volumes of 1906 – 1909; as

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<sup>15</sup> Pijoan, 'New Data', p.80.

<sup>16</sup> Ernst Kühnel, 'Keramik von Paterna', *Berliner Museen*, 46:4 (Berlin, 1925), pp.37-40.

<sup>17</sup> Gaetano Ballardini, 'Sui recenti scavi di Paterna in Spagna', *Faenza*, Oct.-Dec. 1921, (Faenza, 1921) pp.73-83.

well as being the first publication in English to discuss the contractual documents examined by De Osma, it also examined the terms used for different styles of pottery in the textual sources.<sup>18</sup>

Following the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, the publications of González Martí brought Paterna ceramics to the general consciousness, raising them from the status of archaeological objects and curiosities to artistic ceramics on a par with those made in caliphal al-Andalus. He published volume one of the first detailed and scholarly work entirely dedicated to ceramics from eastern Spain in 1944.<sup>19</sup> This major work was written by a man who had been involved in the first excavations at Paterna, a prolific collector and enthusiast of Valencian culture. Its scope was wide, from the end of the classical world until the medieval period, and including not only Valencian work but also Aragonese, Catalan, Italian and southern French ceramics – the ceramics of the Crown of Aragon.<sup>20</sup> As well as Paterna ware he looked at blue and white ware and lustre-painted ceramics. He studied examples not only from his own collection of Paterna ware, but also from the collection of Almenar (now also at the Museo Nacional de Cerámica in Valencia) and in the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona. He addressed the primary issues the discovery of the ceramics had brought to the fore: the earliest date of their production, a chronology of typologies, and the relationship between Paterna ware and other ceramics made in Valencia as well as those from Teruel.

He dated the Paterna ware to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, followed by the blue and white ware and the early blue and lustreware in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and finally in Manises with the lustreware of the fifteenth century. This

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<sup>18</sup> Albert Van de Put, *The Valencian Styles of Hispano-Moresque Pottery 1404-1454 etc. A Companion to Apuntes Sobre Cerámica Morisca of the late G.J. de Osma* (New York, 1938).

<sup>19</sup> González Martí, *Cerámica del Levante Español. Siglos Medievales*. Loza, 1 (Barcelona, 1944).

<sup>20</sup> 'Crown of Aragon' refers to the union of multiple states under the rule of the king of Aragon, which included the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon, the county of Barcelona, as well as at the height of the Crown's rule, Mallorca, Sicily, the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, Montpellier, Provence, Corsica and the duchies of Neopatria and Athens. See Angus Mackay and David Ditchburn (eds.), *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (London, 1997) p.176.

arrangement of sequential ceramic productions in chronological order, like that of Folch i Torres in 1921, informed most subsequent publications on the subject.

The Catalan philologist Olivar Daydí's work on inventories in the archives added to the debate about dating of the workshops in Paterna and Manises.<sup>21</sup> His archival research on the changing fashions in domestic tableware from using wood to ceramics in the fourteenth century was important as it placed Paterna ware within the context of a supply and demand marketplace for the first time.<sup>22</sup> López Elum continued this line of research as recently as 2005, when he examined archives from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries for information about the increasing demand for ceramic tableware among the population of Valencia.<sup>23</sup>

An article by Rudolf Schnyder from 1961 also addressed the question of dating and chronology of Paterna ware.<sup>24</sup> He noted the chance find of a piece of Paterna ware at Bellver Castle in Mallorca at a level consistent with a 1309 date, the earliest dating yet of Paterna ware, and questioned the date of the piece with the heraldry of the houses of Luna and Aragon which supposedly celebrated a 1372 marriage of the families – Schnyder was the first to suggest it may instead represent the 1339 marriage of Lope with Violante.<sup>25</sup>

### **Modern Scholarship**

The huge political and social changes that followed the death of Franco in 1975, were to drastically change Spanish culture in the early 1980s. The establishment of the autonomous communities, including the region of Valencia in 1982, led to a renewed interest in regional studies among historians and archaeologists as well as museum

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<sup>21</sup> Marçal Olivar Daydí, *La Cerámica Trecentista de los Países de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1952).

<sup>22</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera y la cerámica de uso en Valencia y en Cataluña durante el siglo XIV (según los inventarios de la época)* (Valencia, 1950).

<sup>23</sup> López Elum, *La Producción Cerámica*, pp.44-55.

<sup>24</sup> Rudolph Schnyder, 'Die Keramik von Paterna und die Hispano-Mauresken Fayencen des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts', *Ars Orientalis*, 4 (Washington, D.C., 1961), pp.113-36.

<sup>25</sup> Schnyder, 'Die Keramik' p.120.

curators and directors. While previously budgets for archaeological excavations had been centrally controlled from Madrid, by the 1980s these were under regional control allowing local governments the freedom to allocate finances to excavations of their choice. In 1982 the archaeological excavations in the *Ollerías Mayores* site at Paterna were opened.<sup>26</sup> The first of these official excavations was published by Barrachina, Carmona and Miralles in *Al-Qantara*, a Spanish journal founded in 1980 which is dedicated to the history of the western Islamic world, the study of which in Spain reflected the renewed interest in the Islamic history of Spain following the end of the Franco regime.<sup>27</sup>

Mercèdes Mesquida García began excavating sites in Paterna in 1985 with the collaboration of François Amigues and they published their first conference paper together in 1986.<sup>28</sup> Their many subsequent publications on the archaeological investigations, together and separately, proved an invaluable addition to the history of Paterna ware. They provided new archaeological data, as well as revealing an entirely new body of work through the excavation of sherds, which were reconstructed, many of which were subsequently published. Amigues' iconographical analyses, which highlighted connections between some Paterna ware motifs and the iconography of

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<sup>26</sup> Javier Martí and Josefa Pascual, 'La investigación sobre cerámica bajomedieval valenciana, relectura de una bibliografía centenaria', Josep Vila i Carabasa (ed.), *Ceràmica medieval i postmedieval: circuits productius i seqüències culturals*. Monografies d'arqueologia medieval i postmedieval, 4 (Barcelona, 1998), p.137.

<sup>27</sup> Amparo Barrachina, Pilar Carmona, J. Miralles, 'Excavaciones en el Molí del Testar de Paterna (Valencia)', *Al-Qantara*, 5 (Madrid, 1984), pp.405-428. The change in political regime also marked a significant shift in how Spaniards were taught their own Islamic history. Under Franco, the version of Spanish history which was promoted emphasised the national Catholic identity of the Spanish people, and tended to ignore or brush over the country's long Islamic history, particularly in ultra-conservative, Catholic Valencia. It was under Franco that the notion of 'Reconquista' or 'Reconquest' was written into history, with its underlying implications of an eternally Christian, Catholic country which had been simply returned to its rightful rulers after seven century long Islamic 'blip' in its otherwise impeccable history. Since the 1970s, this attitude began to change with the opening up of many archives to foreign scholars and the subsequent interest in the history of what began to be seen as a multicultural Spain. See Alexander J. Novikoff, 'Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: an Historiographic Enigma', *Medieval Encounters*, 11:1-2 (2005) p.28.

<sup>28</sup> See bibliography for details of publications by Mercèdes Mesquida García and François Amigues.



Islamic art, was an important contribution to the broadening of the study of Paterna ware away from the issue of chronology.<sup>29</sup>

Mesquida's work is not without its detractors; her own analysis of her archaeological data and particularly her proposed early chronology of Paterna ware, which she repeated as recently as 2001,<sup>30</sup> have been convincingly disputed by many scholars in the field.<sup>31</sup> However, the commitment of Mesquida and Amigues to highlighting the importance of ceramics from Paterna in conferences, articles and books, has undoubtedly played a significant role in the awareness of Paterna ware among scholars today, as well as being vital to the conservation of the site of the *Ollerías Mayores* in Paterna for future excavations.

The issue of dating Paterna ware and the debate over whether the workshops were a continuation of Islamic workshops or a new industry begun after the Christian conquest, continued to dominate Spanish scholarship throughout the last part of the twentieth century. An important article by López Elum revealed previously unpublished documents from the Valencia archives (Archivos de Protocolos de Valencia) including the earliest reference to Valencian ceramics from 1285.<sup>32</sup>

The article by Lerma *et al* introduced a system of classifying ceramics from Paterna and Manises according to their typologies.<sup>33</sup> From these typological classifications they attempted to draw conclusions about the chronological development of Paterna ware, identifying three phases of stylistic development, the validity of which I examine in

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<sup>29</sup> For example, François Amigues, 'La Cerámica Gótico-Mudéjar Valenciana y las Fuentes de Inspiración de sus Temas Decorativos', in Christopher Gerrard, Alejandra Gutiérrez and Alan Vince (eds.) *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, British Archaeological Report 610 (Oxford, 1995) pp.141-158.

<sup>30</sup> Mercedes Mesquida García, *Las Ollerías de Paterna Tecnología y producción. Volumen 1 Siglos XII y XIII* (Paterna, 2001).

<sup>31</sup> See Martí and Pascual 'La investigación' and López Elum, *La Producción*.

<sup>32</sup> López Elum, 'Origen y evolución de los grandes centros cerámicos: Manises y Paterna', *La Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale* (Florence, 1986) pp.163-181.

<sup>33</sup> Josep Vicent Lerma, Martí and Pascual, Marí Paz Soler, Felisa Escribá and Mesquida, 'Sistematización de la loza gótico-mudéjar de Paterna/Manises', *La Cerámica Medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale* (Florence, 1986), pp.183-203.

Chapter Six.<sup>34</sup> This study represented the first comprehensive classification of Paterna ware according to typologies and stylistic, chronological groups. This division into a series of three stages of development was laid out more comprehensively in the 1987 publication of Martí and Pascual (who had contributed to the Lerma *et al* article), dedicated specifically to Paterna ware.<sup>35</sup>

Martí and Pascual together with Jaume Coll Conesa (director of the Museo de Cerámica in Valencia) published an important work on the impact on ceramics made in the Valencia region of the transition from Islamic to Christian domination.<sup>36</sup> One of the aims of the work was to use new archaeological evidence to address the question of whether or not there was continuity in the types of ceramics made in the Valencia region from the Islamic to Christian eras; they concluded that the medieval ceramics were the result of a symbiosis of the Islamic ceramic tradition and the demands and tastes of the population from Christian Catalonia and Aragon. They also concluded that it is unlikely that the Islamic workshops from the Almohad period in Valencia survived the Christian conquests, so the medieval workshops were new organisations with probably new markets and distribution networks.

Mesquida disagreed with the findings of Coll, Martí and Pascual in terms of the dating, classification and continuity of Paterna ware. In particular, her publication from 1989<sup>37</sup> and the collaborations with Amigues from 1987,<sup>38</sup> 1990<sup>39</sup> and 1993<sup>40</sup> offered an alternative history of Paterna ware. They argued that there was no break in production from the Islamic to Christian periods; that the first Paterna ware can be dated to the

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<sup>34</sup> Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.190.

<sup>35</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde-Manganeso Bajomedieval Valenciana* (Valencia, 1987).

<sup>36</sup> Coll and Martí and Pascual, *Cerámica y Cambio Cultural. El Tránsito de la Valencia Islámica a la Cristiana* (Madrid, 1988).

<sup>37</sup> Mesquida, *La cerámica de Paterna al siglo XIII* (Paterna, 1989).

<sup>38</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, *Un horno medieval de cerámica. El Testar del Molí de Paterna (Valencia)*, (Madrid, 1987).

<sup>39</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, 'Tradición alfarera en Paterna, pasado y presente.' *Fours de Potiers et 'Testares' Médiévaux en Méditerranée Occidentale. Méthodes et résultats*, pp.143-155.

<sup>40</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, *Les Ateliers et la Céramique de Paterna (XIIIe - XVe siècles)*, (Béziers, Musée Saint-Jacques, 1993).

second half of the thirteenth century; and that the Paterna ware (green and brown) all collectively belonged to the same early period and cannot be divided into chronological stages of development, as proposed by Martí and Pascual.

Despite the early chronology which Mesquida has continually asserted in her publications, scholars in the field, particularly Coll, Martí and Pascual as well as López Elum, have continued to argue for a later dating of the first Paterna ware which directly contradicts the work of Mesquida. Coll revisited the theme of the transfer of technique and typology in Eastern Spain from the Islamic to Christian periods in 1998<sup>41</sup> and again in 2003.<sup>42</sup> The 1998 article was part of a group of articles dedicated to the subject of medieval and postmedieval ceramics from Spain. It included a useful literature review by Martí and Pascual on the general subject of Valencian ceramics, in which Martí and Pascual confront the debate with Mesquida on the issue of chronology.<sup>43</sup> In a recent publication Coll summarised the scholarship on Valencian ceramics from the neolithic to modern periods, including Paterna ware.<sup>44</sup>

Publications in the 1990s of new evidence from several excavations where Paterna ware has turned up in the Valencia region, have provided important new material which favours the fourteenth-century date for Paterna ware as argued by Coll, Martí and Pascual. The publication by Lerma in 1992 of the results of excavations carried out in Valencia city provides stratigraphic evidence, which can be compared with material excavated from Paterna.<sup>45</sup> López Elum published the excavations at Torre Bofilla in 1994, revealing significant quantities of Paterna ware at the site, which could be given

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<sup>41</sup> Coll, 'La Ceràmica Valenciana del segle XIII al XIX. Tècniques i processos de la producció. Visió diacrònica de conjunt', in Vila i Carabasa (ed.), *Ceràmica Medieval i Postmedieval*, pp.165-76.

<sup>42</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias Técnicas en la Producción Cerámica entre al Andalus y los Reinos Cristianos. El Caso del Sharq Al-Andalus', Javier Álvarez García (ed.), *Cerámicas islámicas y cristianas a finales de la Edad Media. Influencias e intercambios* (Ceuta, 2003) pp.303-365.

<sup>43</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'La investigación'.

<sup>44</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana: apuntes para una síntesis* (Valencia, 2009).

<sup>45</sup> Lerma, *La loza gótico-mudéjar en la ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia, 1992).

a *terminus ante quem* of the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>46</sup> In 1999, Rosselló, Mesquida and Lerma published the results of excavations at Vall Vell where Paterna ware was also excavated with useful stratigraphic evidence.<sup>47</sup>

There were significant changes within the discipline of archaeology itself towards the late 1970s, as medieval archaeology in Britain and western Europe began to apply a more rigorous methodology based on stratigraphic analysis of sites.<sup>48</sup> Excavations outside of Spain revealed new finds of Paterna ware, which suggested that international trade played a certain role in the ceramics industry. The Crown of Aragon included, at its largest, Sicily, Sardinia and Provence, and it was not surprising therefore that excavations in these areas began to reveal Paterna ware that had been imported in the fourteenth century. In 1972 Verdie published the results of excavations at the palace in Collioure, near Perpignan, where Paterna ware was found;<sup>49</sup> Amigues subsequently published Valencian ceramics excavated in southern France in 1981.<sup>50</sup>

A series of conferences on medieval ceramics from the western Mediterranean region (which generally focused on ceramics from Italy, Spain, southern France, Greece and the Mediterranean islands) began at Valbonne in 1978, marking the beginning of a new trend of European academic collaboration, which brought into focus the international trade and distribution of medieval ceramics. The second conference at Toledo in 1981 included an important paper by Hugo Blake on the 'Pula' hoard of ceramics, showing the trade from Valencia to Sardinia of Paterna blue and lustre-painted ware, which also

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<sup>46</sup> López Elum, *La alquería Islámica en Valencia. Estudio arqueológico de Bofilla. Siglos XI a XIV* (Valencia, 1994).

<sup>47</sup> Miquel Rosselló, Mesquida and Lerma, 'El Vall Vell de Valencia: Un registro cerámico excepcional de los siglos XIII-XIV', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 6 (Jaen, 1999), pp.303-19.

<sup>48</sup> Gerrard, *Medieval archaeology: understanding traditions and contemporary approaches* (London, 2003).

<sup>49</sup> Simone Verdie, 'La céramique médiévale décorée d'oxyde de cuivre et de manganèse retrouvée au Château Royal de Collioure', *Archéologie Médiévale* 2 (Caen, 1972) pp.281-303.

<sup>50</sup> Amigues, *La Céramique Espagnole en Septimanie et en Roussillon* (Montpellier, 1981).

included an example of Paterna ware.<sup>51</sup> The most recent of these conferences was held at Venice in 2009, the publication of which should shed new light on the latest archaeological research on the medieval ceramics of the western Mediterranean.<sup>52</sup>

The publication in 1995 of the catalogue of an exhibition in Marseille dedicated to green and brown tin-glazed pottery from the western Mediterranean, was the first collaborative, international publication to focus exclusively on this type of ceramics.<sup>53</sup> Paterna ware was featured alongside other tin-glazed ceramics that were made from the tenth to fifteenth centuries across the western Mediterranean, allowing Paterna ware to be compared with material from France, Italy, Sicily, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Spain and Portugal for the first time. Examples of Paterna ware were published alongside green and brown ware from Teruel and Manresa in Spain. The catalogue included many unpublished pieces, together with the articles and the extensive bibliography the publication is an invaluable source of reference material for excavations and discoveries of green and brown ware in the Mediterranean to date. Caiger-Smith had previously introduced the subject of Paterna ware as part of the movement of tin-glazed ceramics in his 1973 book on tin-glazed pottery, which placed Paterna ware in the international story of the spread of this technique from the Middle East to northern Europe.<sup>54</sup>

In 1995, an important group of articles published in England offered a British connection with Paterna ware – a subject that had been largely unexplored. The British Archaeological Report on Spanish medieval ceramics from 1200 to 1600 focused on Anglo-Spanish connections (with articles also on Spanish medieval pottery imported into Ireland, and into North-West Europe). The thirty-two articles include work on the

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<sup>51</sup> Hugo Blake, 'The ceramic hoard from Pula (prov. Cagliari) and the Pula type of Spanish lustreware', *Il Coloquio Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo Occidental* (Madrid, 1986), pp.365-407.

<sup>52</sup> IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo. Association Internationale pour l'Etude des Ceramiques Médiévales Méditerranéennes (AIECM2), Venice, 23-28 November 2009.

<sup>53</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun de Kairouan à Avignon, céramiques du Xe au XVe siècle* (Marseille, 1995).

<sup>54</sup> Alan Caiger-Smith, *Tin-glaze pottery in Europe and the Islamic world* (London, 1973).

movement of medieval ceramics, shipping techniques, the application of scientific methods and notes on further research directions.<sup>55</sup> In one of these, Amigues explored the origins of some of the decorative motifs on Valencian ceramics including Paterna ware,<sup>56</sup> while the article by Martí and Pascual restated their focus on typologies, including a useful summary of the basic forms made in medieval Paterna.<sup>57</sup>

Publications in English on Paterna ware are otherwise scarce. Martí wrote a general overview article on medieval Spanish pottery production, which included Paterna ware, without illustrations.<sup>58</sup> In 2000, Ray published his useful catalogue of Spanish ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which included illustrations of the five pieces of Paterna ware held by the Museum, a description and summary of the Paterna excavations and the provenance of the Museum's pieces.<sup>59</sup> Most recently, Reino Liefkes included an illustration and description of one of the Paterna vessels in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, in a publication that coincided with the opening in 2009 of the new ceramics galleries at the Museum, where the Paterna pieces are displayed.<sup>60</sup>

### **Archaeometry**

Scientific innovations and international collaborations have led to a new field of study that has revitalised the direction of scholarship on Paterna ware in recent years. In the 1950s a new discipline called archaeometry emerged, which applied scientific techniques to archaeological materials to reveal information such as the ingredients of a glaze or the firing temperature reached for particular ceramics. When these

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<sup>55</sup> Gerrard, Gutiérrez and Vince (eds.) *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, British Archaeological Report, International Series 610 (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Amigues, 'La cerámica gótico-mudéjar valenciana y las fuentes de inspiración de sus temas decorativos', in Gerrard and Gutiérrez and Vince (eds.) *Spanish Medieval Ceramics*, pp.141-158.

<sup>57</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'Tradición e innovación en el repertorio formal de la cerámica valenciana bajomedieval' in Gerrard and Gutiérrez and Vince (eds.) *Spanish Medieval Ceramics*, pp.159-176

<sup>58</sup> Martí, 'An overview of medieval pottery production in Spain between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries', *Medieval Ceramics* 18 (London, 1994) pp.3-7.

<sup>59</sup> Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery 1248-1898* (London, 2000), pp.41-44.

<sup>60</sup> Reino Liefkes and Hilary Young, *Masterpieces of World Ceramics* (London, 2008).

techniques began to be applied to Paterna ware in the 1980s, it led to a profoundly deeper understanding of the ceramics and their relationships with other ceramic groups based on glaze recipes, firing techniques and the ratio of ingredients in clay and glazes.

As a relatively new field of study, which requires specific technical equipment and knowledge, most of the archaeometric work on Paterna ware has been carried out as international collaborations between the Department of Crystallography and Mineralogy at the University of Barcelona in Spain, and the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford University in the UK. Vendrell and Molera in Barcelona and Tite in Oxford published a number of important articles on their analysis of Valencian ceramics including Paterna ware, mostly in the journal *Archaeometry* which is published by the Research Laboratory in Oxford.<sup>61</sup>

Particularly important was Molera, Pradell, Vendrell and Mesquida's work on Paterna ware, which used samples from the Ceramics Museum in Paterna. Their investigations revealed fundamental facts such as the clay and glaze compositions and firing temperatures, for which their publications are invaluable.<sup>62</sup> Findings published in this and a previous article, confirm that different clay compositions were used for the different types of ceramics made in Paterna.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> I am grateful to Judit Molera for sending me a copy of her (unpublished) graduate thesis on the technical characteristics of the ceramics made in the Paterna workshop. Judit Molera, 'Característiques Tècniques de les Produccions Ceràmiques del Taller del Testar (Paterna), s.XIV' (unpublished master's thesis, Barcelona, 1991).

<sup>62</sup> Molera, Trinitat Pradell, Mesquida and Màrius Vendrell-Saz, 'Características Técnicas y Procesos de Producción de las Cerámicas del s.XIII en Paterna' in Mesquida, *Las Ollerías de Paterna. Tecnología y Producción. Vol.1 siglos XII y XIII* (Paterna, 2001) pp.235-261. This publication must be read with the knowledge that as ceramics cannot be dated by chemical analysis alone, the authors adopted the dating system published by Mesquida, which has been widely disputed as being at least a century too early, as I detailed above.

<sup>63</sup> Molera, García-Vallés, Pradell and Vendrell-Saz, 'Hispano-Moresque pottery production of the fourteenth-century workshop of Testar del Molí (Paterna, Spain)', *Archaeometry* 38:1 (Oxford, 1996) pp.67-80.

Hughes and Vince included two examples of Paterna ware in their neutron activation analysis and petrology work on Hispano-Moresque ware which helped to conclude that a difference could be found between Paterna and Manises ware based on the calcium content of the clay.<sup>64</sup> Tite's work on tracing the beginnings and optical properties of tin glazes, with Mason and separately with Vendrell and Molera, made it possible to identify groups of ceramic workshops based on the content of tin used in their glazes, as well as confirming through scientific analysis the movement of the tin glaze technique from ninth-century Iraq to western Europe.<sup>65</sup>

This thesis attempts to synthesize the considerable archaeological and historical scholarship that has been applied to Paterna ware, and to continue this analysis of the ceramics using art-historical methods. The publications by specialists in archaeology and archaeometry have greatly informed this work. My focus however is on the art-historical analysis of the material, and on situating it in a wider social and historical context.<sup>66</sup> The theoretical framework is informed particularly by new scholarship coming from the United States, such as that of Catlos, Dodds *et al* and Kinoshito, on the status of Mudéjares and questions of 'convivencia' and identity in post-conquest Spain.<sup>67</sup> The

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<sup>64</sup> Michael J. Hughes and Alan G. Vince, 'Neutron Activation Analysis and Petrology of Hispano-Moresque Pottery', in Jacqueline S. Olin and M. James Blackman (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Archaeometry Symposium*, (Washington, D.C., 1986) pp.353-367.

<sup>65</sup> Robert B. Mason and M.S. Tite, 'The Beginnings of Tin-Opacification of Pottery Glazes' *Archaeometry* 39:1 (Oxford, 1997) pp.41-58. Vendrell-Saz and Molera and Tite, 'Optical Properties of Tin-Opacified Glazes', *Archaeometry* 42:2 (Oxford, 2000), pp.325-340.

<sup>66</sup> The dating of Paterna ceramics to a more precise date than the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, and debate over the chronology of the ceramics from Teruel and Paterna, are issues which I address, but within which I largely defer to the already extensive and I believe exhaustive Spanish scholarship on the subjects. The wider Mediterranean context has been informed largely by Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony. The World System A.D.1250-1350* (Oxford, 1989); Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain. The commercial realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge, 1994); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>67</sup> Brian Catlos, 'Contexto y Conveniencia en la Corona de Aragón: propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre grupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios', *Revista d'Història Medieval* 12 (Valencia, 2001-3). Jerrilynn Dodds and Maria Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy : Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2008). Sharon Kinoshito, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).



comprehensive iconographical study draws together scholarship from the history of art and material culture in both the Islamic and western European fields, in an attempt to bring clarity and meaning to the many obscure and complex images that can be found on Paterna ware.

## Chapter Three

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Paterna ware was very much a product of its particular time and place. Its technical requirements, typologies and iconography, all of which are explained in subsequent chapters, can be situated quite specifically in the early fourteenth-century mixed community of a Valencian town. The close relationship (possibly even a shared workshop or common craftsmen) between Paterna ware and both contemporary ceramics made in Teruel and the painted ceiling from Liria, suggest that what we have in Paterna ware is a particular fashion or artistic movement which was specific to this region, at this time.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, it is important to understand the historical context within which the ceramics were made.

This chapter outlines the early history of Paterna, focusing on the vital role played by the irrigation systems developed under Muslim rule. Like so many other towns in the Mediterranean region, the development of this town and its industries is intimately connected with the supply of water. The impact of the Christian conquest of 1238, in turn, on the Muslim population of the town and the extent to which Christian rule affected the daily lives of the Mudéjares will be then be examined.

It was the gradual influx of both Christian and Muslim settlers from outside the immediate area, which probably stimulated the development of a thriving ceramics industry in Paterna. A kind of coexistence was enjoyed as a result of the shared economic and practical demands of living and trading in the same town, where Muslims and Christians lived separately alongside each other.<sup>2</sup> The typologies and

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Nine 'A School of Painting?'

<sup>2</sup> This idea of a coexistence of populations is addressed in Chapter Four. There was a large Jewish population in the region of Valencia many of whom held high positions in the running of the Kingdom of Valencia. See Elena Lourie and Harvey J. James (eds.), *Jews, Muslims and Christians in and around the Crown of Aragon: essays in honour of Professor Elena Lourie*

iconography of Paterna ware are notable for their use of shapes and motif that originate in both Christian and Islamic traditions; for this reason, it is interesting to explore the identity of the potters and speculate on the languages they may have spoken to get some idea of their cultural affiliations. Finally, the end of Paterna ware is explained by the rapid decline of the Mudéjar population by the late fourteenth century.

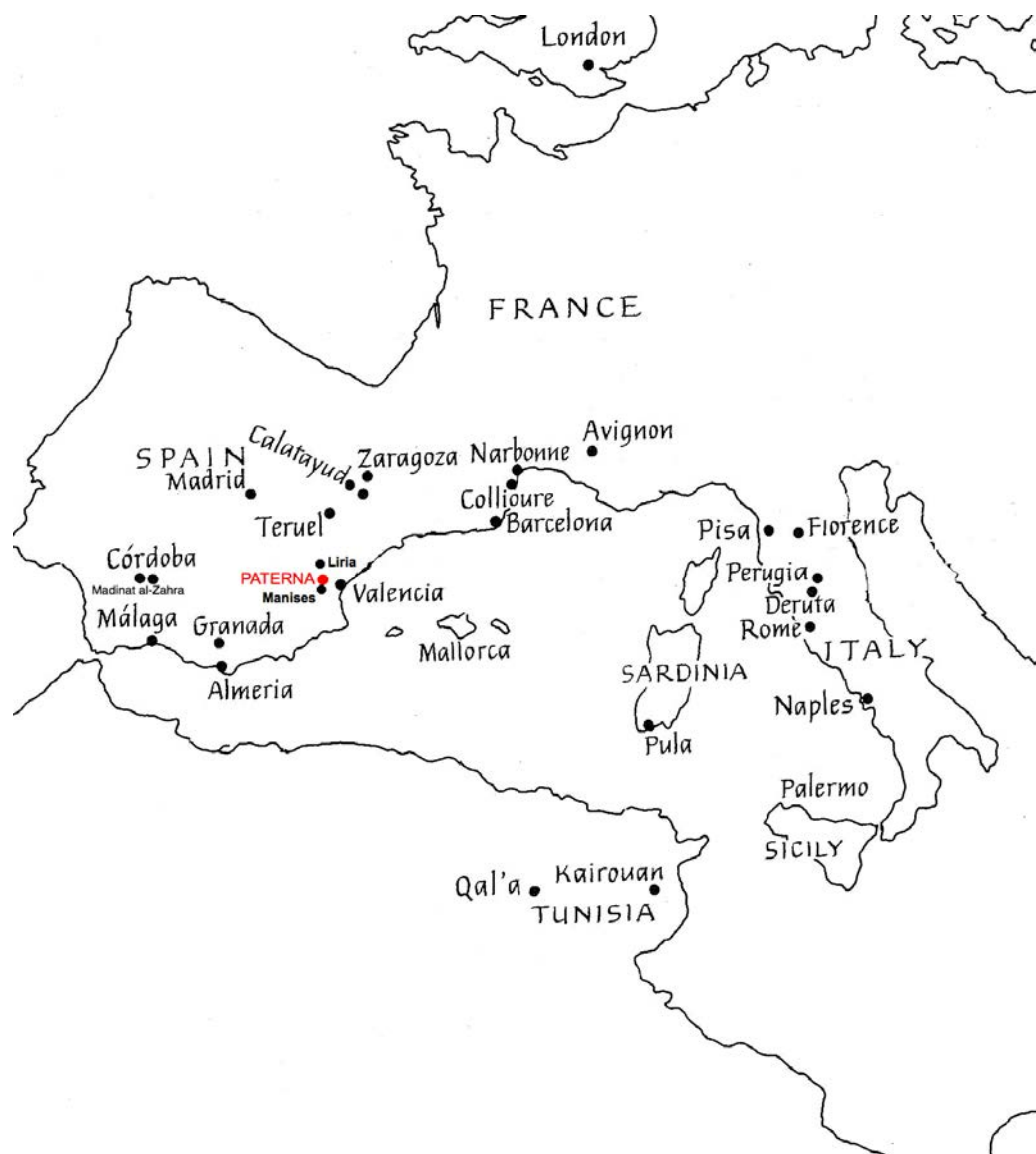


Fig.1 Map of western Europe showing Paterna. (Image adapted from Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery. Technique, Tradition and Innovation in Islam and the Western World*, (London, 1985) p.19).

(Leiden, Boston, 2004). However, there is no record of a resident Jewish population in Paterna, which was a predominantly Muslim town when it was conquered in the thirteenth century.

### **The early habitation of Paterna**

Five kilometres west of the Spanish city of Valencia, along the river Turia, lies the town of Paterna. The availability of water from the river Turia (known as the Wādī al-Abyad or 'White River' in Islamic times<sup>3</sup>) was essential to the growth of Valencia city and region. The irrigated land of the surrounding plain, known as the *huerta* from the Spanish for orchard or garden, supplied Valencia with food and resources for export (such as rice, oil and grain). In Valencia it referred to some fifty square miles of fertile alluvial fields around the city which were intensively irrigated and where crops were grown.<sup>4</sup> In the medieval period the towns in the *huerta* region grew in size and wealth into agricultural and commercial centres, which supplied Valencia with food and products for export.

Paterna was one of these towns. It began as a Bronze Age settlement along the banks of the Turia river, where there is evidence of habitation dating to around 1300BC.<sup>5</sup> The site of Paterna moved from the banks of the river to the present urban site in Roman times.

The nearby city of *Valentia* was founded by the Romans in 138BC, when the alluvial plains around Valencia began to be cultivated. Evidence of the Roman villa which formed the origins of urban Paterna has been found, including wheel-turned ceramics for common and industrial use from the first to second centuries AD.<sup>6</sup>

Archaeological evidence of hydraulic engineering from the Roman period has been found throughout the Valencian *huerta* region. It was thought that these aqueducts demonstrated the Roman origins of the sophisticated irrigation system for which we now find evidence throughout Valencia and which stimulated the agricultural and

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979) p.64.

<sup>4</sup> Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) pp.11-12.

<sup>5</sup> María Jose Gimeno Roselló, *El Agua en la Historia de Paterna*, (Paterna, 1998), p.44.

<sup>6</sup> Gimeno Roselló, *El Agua*, p.53. The excavation of a Roman kiln and various ceramic fragments in Paterna indicate that there was Roman occupation around the first to second centuries AD. Mesquida, *El Horno Romano de Paterna* (Paterna, 2003).

subsequent economic development of the town. However, as Glick points out, many of the canals and hydraulic works which were thought to be Roman, have been shown to be of later Islamic construction.<sup>7</sup> The function of Roman hydraulic systems in the *huerta* is not known for certain, but it is thought that they were used not for the irrigation of agricultural land, but for urban water supply and drainage purposes.<sup>8</sup>

### **Muslim Paterna**

The Roman villa and population at Paterna probably fell into decline in the fourth century, when economic crises led to the abandonment and destruction of many of the rural villas. It was probably not until the eleventh century, during the economic boom which accompanied Islamic *ṭā'ifa* (independent states; *taifa* in Spanish) rule in Valencia (1010-1099), that the town of Paterna was revitalised. With the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Cordoba in the early eleventh century, the wealth of regional centres of power such as Valencia increased. The movement of skilled artisans and merchants to these centres helped the city of Valencia to grow in population and economic power,<sup>9</sup> while the commercial growth of the Mediterranean in the late tenth century opened new overseas markets to merchants working from the port in Valencia, who were trading particularly with the Balearic Islands and the Levante coast (the eastern coastline of Iberia).<sup>10</sup>

Testament to the influx of artisans was the emergence in the early eleventh century of the technique of making tin-glazed pottery decorated with green and brown pigments, which had become widespread in al-Andalus during the caliphal and taifa periods. Both technically and stylistically the ceramics made in eleventh-century Valencia using this complex technique are very similar to those made in caliphal and other taifa

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<sup>7</sup> Glick, *Irrigation*, pp.189-90.

<sup>8</sup> Glick, 'Hydraulic Technology in al-Andalus', in Salma K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden, 1992), p. 974. See also Glick, *Irrigation*, pp.191-92.

<sup>9</sup> Pierre Guichard, 'Contexto Histórico de la Valencia Musulmana', *La Cerámica Islámica en la Ciudad de Valencia: Estudios*, 2 (Valencia, 1990), p.36.

<sup>10</sup> Constable, *Trade*, p.20.

workshops, such as at Cordoba and in Albarracín, in Aragon.<sup>11</sup> The presence of the technique in Valencia indicates that there was an influx of artisans at this time, as well as suggesting a level of economic development adequate to sustaining a luxury glazed ceramic workshop in the city.

Al-Idrisi described Valencia in the mid-twelfth century as a city with 'many merchants...its markets and commercial activity, and [the] departure and arrival [of ships]' to the city.<sup>12</sup> These commercial links were not just with coastal cities and the Balearics; Pisa and Genoa arranged commercial treaties with the Muslim ruler of Valencia Ibn Mardanish in 1149 and 1150 which promised them tariff exemptions, safe conduct and accommodation in Valencia and in Denia.<sup>13</sup> Commercial ties were also established inland with northern Spanish cities, as a contemporary source mentions traders between Valencia and Santiago de Compostela in the twelfth century.<sup>14</sup>

Much of the success of this economic boom was due to the aforementioned irrigation systems and the development of the *huerta* under Islamic rule. There is little contemporary Arabic documentation of the Islamic system of canals in Valencia,<sup>15</sup> but Glick notes one story told by Ibn Ḥayyān of two freedmen Muzaffar and Mubarak who were 'in charge of the administration of irrigation [of the canal] in Valencia', which suggests that there was an established, highly organised system of irrigation in the city.<sup>16</sup>

The development of Paterna into an agricultural and ceramics centre under Islamic and then Christian rule, was largely due to the sophisticated irrigation systems developed under Islamic rule. The ready supply of water through these new canals and hydraulic

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<sup>11</sup> These ceramics are examined in more detail in Chapter Six.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Idrisi, *Opus v*, p.556, cited in Constable, *Trade*, p.20.

<sup>13</sup> Constable, *Trade*, p.43.

<sup>14</sup> Constable, *Trade*, p.45. Original source is Herman of Tournai, 'Epistola de corpore S. Vincentii diaconi', *Analecta bollandiana* 2 (1883), p.246.

<sup>15</sup> Glick, *Irrigation*, p.196.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 3 (Paris, 1930) p.158, cited in Glick, *Irrigation*, p.198.

systems not only irrigated the fields but also gave the potters access to one of their most essential ingredients.

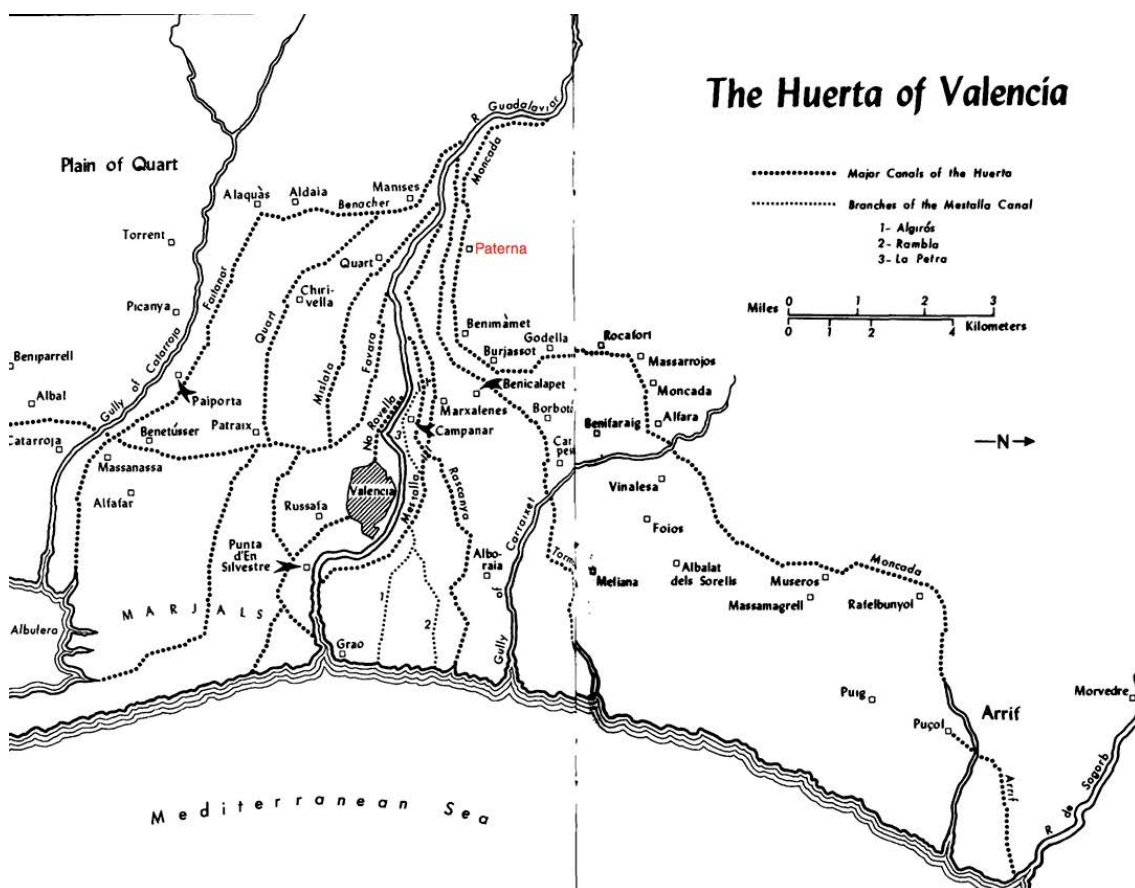


Fig.2 Map of the *huerta* of Islamic Valencia, showing the canal systems including the Moncada which runs through Paterna (shown centre top). (From Glick, *Irrigation*, pp.24-25.)

Paterna was perfectly situated at the beginning of the Moncada canal (the Real Acequia de Moncada as it was known since Christian times), which served the north part of the *huerta* and exited to the sea at a town called Puçol.<sup>17</sup> It was diverted just upstream at the Guadalaviar from Paterna and regulated by control gates and return ditches. The situation of the town at the junction of the river with the canal was a privileged position, which meant that even in times of low water, Paterna would be more likely than towns lower down on the canal to receive sufficient water for its

<sup>17</sup> Glick, *Irrigation*, p.24 (see map).

agricultural, milling and eventually ceramic needs. The Moncada crosses the Paterna area from west to east, with a number of small channels coming off it, most importantly the Uncía which crosses through the urban part of Paterna.



*Fig.3* The point where the Uncía canal branch breaks away, to the left, from the main Moncada canal which continues to the right, in Paterna. (Photograph taken 2008.)

As well as being an agricultural centre, Paterna had a defensive function from the eleventh century, when the castle was probably built in the town.<sup>18</sup> Paterna was one of a ring of small, fortified towns which surrounded Valencia as a line of defence against the Christian forces. For example, the nearby town of Torre Bofilla, a Muslim town which was depopulated in the mid-fourteenth century, also had a defensive tower.<sup>19</sup>

A small number of Almohad-style ceramics, made using Islamic techniques including partial *cuerda seca* and *sgraffito*,<sup>20</sup> have been found in excavations in Paterna.<sup>21</sup> However, no workshops from this period (the second half of the twelfth century to the early thirteenth century) have been excavated in the town so we cannot know whether this pottery was made here or brought to Paterna from elsewhere, such as Valencia,

<sup>18</sup> Mesquida, 'Paterna en la Edad Media', in Rafael Azuar and Sonia Gutiérrez and Fernando Valdés (eds.), *Urbanismo Medieval del País Valenciano*, (Madrid, 1993) p.308. Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.19-22.

<sup>19</sup> Guichard, 'Contexto', p.39.

<sup>20</sup> *Cuerda seca* describes the technique of ceramic decoration in which the glaze is outlined with a mix of manganese oxide and a greasy substance which leaves a black line after firing; partial *cuerda seca* is when some of the unglazed surface remains visible as part of the decoration. *Sgraffito*, also known as *sgraffiato*, describes the technique of ceramic decoration in which motifs are scratched through the slip, revealing the underlying clay colour.

<sup>21</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.132.



where twelfth- and thirteenth-century workshops have been found.<sup>22</sup> (No eleventh-century, caliphal/taifa style green and brown ware has been found in Paterna). Whether it was made in the town or not, the presence of the pottery in Paterna confirms that the town was occupied during the Almohad period.

### **Christian conquest**

By 1233 Jaume I and his knights, recruited from Aragon, Catalonia and southern France, had begun a serious campaign to conquer the area. The king established diplomatic relations with Paterna, promising to lower taxes and to allow the resident Muslims freedom to practise their religion and customs, to which Paterna among other towns agreed when they surrendered in 1238. The first person account of the surrender of Paterna which is found in the chronicles of Jaume I provides a snapshot of the town in the early thirteenth century. The chronicles are commentaries on the main events of his reign from 1218 to 1276. The events which occurred in Paterna happened three days after Easter on the fourth of April in 1238:<sup>23</sup>

I stopped at the Puig, and kept Lent there; the Queen kept hers at Almenara till Easter, when I went to keep it with her; after that I went with her to the Puig. On the third day after Easter there came to me a messenger, a Saracen from Paterna, secretly, with letters from the whole aljama, saying they would surrender to me the town and the castle. Others came similarly from Betera and Bufila, saying they would surrender too. I answered that I would go to them; they should hold themselves in readiness to surrender the castles when I came. I would let them keep their law and all their usages, as in the time of their kings, and would do much for them. And on the fourth day, as I had undertaken, I myself went to Paterna with a hundred knights, and the Queen went also with me; all the Saracens, men and women, came to me out of the place with great joy. I told them that I would treat them well, and would free them from dues for two years, for what they had suffered. They gave God thanks for the good words I had said to them, and opened the gates to me. I entered, and left there the Queen with some ten knights in garrison, and in the same manner I got Betera and Bufila, after which I returned to the Puig.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Mesquida, in *Ollerías*, p.31, claims that Paterna must have produced ceramics before 1237, but this dating has been contested, which I explain in the first section of Chapter Eight.

<sup>23</sup> Guichard, *Les Musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIe–XIIIe siècles)*, 1 and 2 (Damascus, 1990, 1991), p.408.

<sup>24</sup> *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon, surnamed the Conqueror, written by himself. Translated from the Catalan by John Forster, with an historical introduction, notes, appendix, glossary and general index by Pascual de Gayangos* (Farnborough, 1968) 2v, chapter 254. The original was written in the first person, apparently mostly by the King himself, in a version of Catalan, although the oldest surviving manuscript is a Latin translation from 1313, after Jaume's

The mention of 'the town and the castle' and later of the 'gates' in the description of the surrender of Paterna confirm that it was a fortified town, which would have been valuable to Jaume I in his attempt to conquer Valencia. As the text suggests, the population which surrendered to Jaume I was a Muslim one - they opened the gates of the town to him. There is no mention of a Christian population in the town; it is likely that at this time the population was entirely Muslim.

Jaume I was involved in conquering and keeping hold of a large swathe of previously Muslim territories by 1238 – including Valencia city itself. He would not have had the military means to occupy each conquered town with a garrison and to rule them all himself; so he solved this problem by granting towns and regions to nobles to rule on his behalf. The noble would then bring his own military force with him.<sup>25</sup>

In 1237, Jaume I wrote in his *Llibre del Repartiment*, in which the king documented the sharing-out of conquered land among his nobles and favoured knights, that the *alquerias* of Paterna and Manises were to be given to one Artal de Luna:

1237, 9<sup>th</sup> July. Puig de Santa Maria  
 Artallus de Luna, alqueriam de Paterna et Maneçar. VII idus julii  
 (To Artal de Luna, the villages of Paterna and Manises).<sup>26</sup>

Paterna is described here as an *alqueria*. This is a Spanish transcription of the Arabic *al-qarya*, which meant a small rural village or agricultural hamlet, with its own ovens and mills, also usually with a dependent relationship with an urban centre, a kind of satellite town.<sup>27</sup> From the thirteenth century at least the term implies some kind of fortification in the town.<sup>28</sup>

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death in 1276. Digitized edition (2007) page:  
[http://libro.uca.edu/chronicleofjames/deeds08.htm#N\\_17](http://libro.uca.edu/chronicleofjames/deeds08.htm#N_17) [accessed 18<sup>th</sup> November 2009].

<sup>25</sup> Guichard, *Les Musulmans*, p.408.

<sup>26</sup> Jaume I, *Llibre del Repartiment del Regne de València* Cancelleria Reial. Registre 5, f.1r. Archive of the Crown of Aragon (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón), Barcelona. From Universitat Jaume I. Castelló. Arxiu Virtual Jaume I - <http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es> - Document nº 000992.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders. Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia*. (Princeton, New Jersey, 1973) p.60.

<sup>28</sup> Guichard, *Les Musulmans*, pp.197-198.

The conditions which accompanied the granting of towns by the king differed according to place and noble, but in the cases of Paterna and Manises, they were granted to Artal de Luna in perpetuity as hereditary land, without any further dues owed to the king other than allegiance to the Crown of Aragon.<sup>29</sup> The disparity between the year 1237 when Artal was granted Paterna and Manises, and 1238 when the towns were actually conquered, is because this part of the *Llibre del Repartiment* was written by the king in advance of the taking of the towns. Jaume I granted these lands as future rewards to his nobles who had joined him on his 'crusade' into Valencia; if the conquest were aborted or not successful, these land grants would not have taken effect.<sup>30</sup>

Artal de Luna was a member of the Aragonese aristocracy, the son of Lope Ferrench de Luna from the area of Zaragoza and of his wife Toda Pérez de Azagra. The Luna family was a powerful one which divided into three main branches in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; the descendants of Artal de Luna would marry into the Aragonese royal family and rule Sicily in the fourteenth century. Artal married Maria Ferrandis, who was possibly the daughter of the Muslim convert Zeit abu Zeit from Segorbe, with whom he had two sons, Artal and Lope Ferrench de Luna.<sup>31</sup> He was one of the most important barons of Jaume I, appearing prominently in the chronicles.<sup>32</sup> The blazon of his branch of the family, a chequered crescent moon with a chequered stripe, appears in two pieces of Paterna ware (Cats.61 and 256).

### **The development of a pottery industry**

The immediate impact on the population of the Christian conquest of a town depended to a large extent on whether the town had surrendered or had been under siege and militarily conquered. The populations of those towns that surrendered, including

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<sup>29</sup> Guichard, *Les Musulmans*, p.409.

<sup>30</sup> Antonio Ubieto, *Orígenes del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia, 1975) p.161.

<sup>31</sup> Francisco de Moxó y Montoliu, *La Casa de Luna (1276-1348). Factor Político y Lazos de Sangre en la Ascensión de un Linaje Aragonés*, (Münster, 1990), p.60.

<sup>32</sup> Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth Century Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) Chapter 9.

Paterna, were spared many of the penalties and hardships imposed on populations who had resisted the Christian incursions.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps one of the greatest initial effects of Christian conquest was in agriculture. Agricultural land was effectively privatised under Christian rule with the imposition of landlords.<sup>34</sup> Land that had been previously cultivated communally by free farmers under Islamic rule, was allocated (rented out) to individual families to farm. This system of tenant farming led to fragmentation of the landscape and caused a change in agricultural practice. The cultivation of cereals, grapes for wine and olives for oil was intensified; these were products which could be stored and exported and which could yield the extra money required to pay the rents now owed to the local lord.<sup>35</sup>

The irrigation canals, which had been primarily constructed to bring water to agricultural lands and into the urban centre of Paterna for domestic use, were vital to the economic development of the town under Christian rule, and played an important role in the establishment of an industrial pottery industry in Paterna in the late thirteenth century. In general, Islamic irrigation systems which were functioning at the time of the conquests were ordered to continue 'as they were in the time of the Saracens', which was a typical formula found in contemporary documents.<sup>36</sup>

A large-scale pottery industry in Paterna may have originally been established to support the demands of the new agricultural industry described above (which focused on the export of non perishable goods) and the demand for earthenware containers in which this grain, oil and wine could be stored and transported. Supplying the demand for *noria* pots, the unglazed, waisted ceramic containers that were attached to the waterwheels (*norias*) to raise water from the irrigation canals to the land, would also

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<sup>33</sup> Burns, *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984), p.138.

<sup>34</sup> Burns, *Muslims, Christians*, p.48. Also Burns, *Islam*, pp.19-24.

<sup>35</sup> Gimeno Roselló, *El Agua*, pp.65-66.

<sup>36</sup> Glick 'Hydraulic Technology', p.975.

have been a large part of the potter's work.<sup>37</sup> The first documentary evidence of this industrial ceramics production in Paterna is dated 1285, in a contract which details the order of one hundred large jars for containing oil (see Chapter Eight).

It is likely that the decorated ceramics industry began in Paterna in the early fourteenth century. It is important to note that the two centres where workshops were situated, known as the *Ollerías Mayores* and the *Ollerías Menores*, were situated alongside the two canals which ran through the town, the Moncada and the smaller Uncía. The *Ollerías Mayores* were alongside the wheat mills on the canal, while the *Ollerías Menores* were within the more urbanised area of the *morería* of Paterna. This ready access to water was a key factor in the successful development of a large-scale ceramics industry in the town.

### **A Changing Population – who was living in Paterna?**

The Paterna community which surrendered to Jaime I was a Muslim one; indeed, the population of the entire kingdom of Valencia was a majority Muslim one at the time of the conquest in 1238. Despite the crusading rhetoric of the conquest and pressure from the church to encourage conversions, the king felt a more pressing financial and practical need to maintain the region's productivity and therefore its income from tax. Jaime I was a crusading king who spent all his wealth on conquering and holding on to new lands for the Crown of Aragon. His crusade in the Balearics had absorbed much of his capital in the 1220s, so taking Valencia and more importantly holding on to it would involve finding money from new sources. On taking the town of Burriana north of Valencia, his counsellors warned him that he was running out of money: 'you do not

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<sup>37</sup> Glick suggests that demand for the *noria* pot caused a 'revolution' in local pottery industries in the medieval period in areas such as the Valencian *huerta*, which were irrigated by water wheels. Glick, 'Noria Pots in Spain', *Technology and Culture* 18:4 (Washington, D.C., 1977) p.646.

possess a treasury, neither do you hold large rents, nor do you have bread anywhere at all but are hard put for subsistence as you wander about your realms'.<sup>38</sup>

The expansion of the Crown of Aragon had left the crown's coffers empty, so it was vital to keep the fertile and productive kingdom of Valencia working.

The king was anxious not to lose Muslim manpower and skill during the early years of Christian rule. To that end Muslim settlers were actively encouraged by the king to settle on newly conquered Christian land to raise revenue for the Crown.<sup>39</sup> With some notable exceptions - the expulsions at Valencia and Burriana for example - the Muslim *aljamas* (communities) were, initially at least, maintained in the towns, villages and rural countryside of Valencia with their own systems of self-government.

The Church disapproved of this practice of resettling new Christian land with Muslims; Pope Innocent IV reprimanded the Crown in 1251, writing that:

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'Certain barons and exempt religious, and also others who...hold castles and towns as well as other possessions, have brought in and are bringing in Saracens to settle at many places of the same realm, contrary to the vow made by the said king and to the aforesaid [episcopal] excommunication, to the peril of their souls and the serious detriment of the church in Valencia – the king himself doing the very same thing in some places.'<sup>40</sup>

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But the Church, which had been granted large tracts of land by Jaume I, needed the finances and stability provided by Muslim manpower as much as the Crown, and the resettlements continued throughout the thirteenth century. In 1240 the bishop of Valencia expressed the awkward position of the Church, in a letter about the collecting of tithes to the Crown, writing:

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<sup>38</sup> Jaume I, *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, transl. John Forster, 2 vols (London, 1883), I, 20-21, 285-286, cited in Burns 'A Medieval Income Tax: The Tithe in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia', *Speculum* 41:3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) p.439.

<sup>39</sup> Burns, 'Immigrants from Islam: the Crusaders' Use of Muslims as Settlers in Thirteenth-Century Spain', *The American Historical Review*, 80:1 (Indiana, 1975) p.22.

<sup>40</sup> Pope Innocent IV to the bishop of Valencia, Dec. 23, 1251. Arch. Vat. Reg. vat. 22, fol.133v, letter 146 'popularent sarracenos vel reducerent', cited in Burns, *Medieval Colonialism. Postcrusade exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1975) p.26.

'Saracens colonized on lands freely acquired, though we do not approve their use in populating and indeed rebuke it, are to give full tithe on everything'.<sup>41</sup>

Following the conquest, Christian settlers from Catalonia, Aragon and southern France were brought to the newly conquered lands where they settled in the larger towns and urban areas of Valencia.<sup>42</sup> The settlers were granted land in cities, as well as rural plots for cultivation; rural Christian settlements were rare.<sup>43</sup> There was no significant Mozarabic community remaining (Christians who lived under Muslim rule), so the new Christian population established its own religious communities and consecrated requisitioned mosques as their churches. However, Jaume I apparently complained towards the end of his life (he died in 1276) that Valencia had only managed to attract 30,000 settlers when it needed 100,000 people to maintain its security.<sup>44</sup>

By the end of the thirteenth century the Christian population had begun to stabilise and strengthen in numbers in Valencia, particularly in the cities, but for some sixty years from the time immediately after the conquest until the end of the thirteenth century, the small immigrant Christian population of Valencia was vastly outnumbered by Muslims who had remained throughout the conquests or had been attracted to the new opportunities offered in the area.<sup>45</sup> It was quite usual for Muslims who had fled abroad during the conquests to be lured back by the new landlords with the promise of regaining their land and possessions and favourable conditions, as demonstrated by the surrender documents from Chivert and Eslida, which have been examined by Burns, for example.<sup>46</sup>

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Many of these immigrant Muslims were Mudéjares who had initially fled from the area during the conquests, while others may have been new immigrants coming from

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<sup>41</sup> Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, p.26. Tithe agreement between the bishop of Valencia and Jaume I. Archivo de la Catedral de Valencia, dated 1240.

<sup>42</sup> Burns, *Islam*, p.14.

<sup>43</sup> Burns, *Islam*, pp.22-23.

<sup>44</sup> Burns, *Islam*, pp.19-22.

<sup>45</sup> Isabel O'Connor, 'Mudéjars helping other Mudéjars in the kingdom of Valencia', *Al Masaq* 17:1 (Exeter, 2005), p.100.

<sup>46</sup> Burns, *Islam*, pp.28-9.

regions relatively close to Valencia, including Murcia and Granada. A number of documents from Valencia specify that the immigrants were 'foreign Saracens', which may suggest Muslims from Islamic lands other than Iberia, but, as Burns argues, is more likely to indicate Muslims coming from within Iberia but outside of the kingdom of Valencia.<sup>47</sup> The relative stability of parts of Valencia in the latter half of the thirteenth century would have made it an attractive destination for Muslims fleeing political instability in other parts of al-Andalus. Murcia to the south of Valencia lost a large proportion of its Muslim population after its conquest in 1266, a date which coincided with a more stable period in Valencian politics, perhaps making Valencia a relatively inviting destination for fleeing Muslims. There also seems to have been a consistent flow of population between Valencia and Nasrid Granada, particularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as documents from Muslims returning to Valencia and requesting waivers against prosecution for illegal emigration indicate.<sup>48</sup>

This immigration of Muslims who were probably from the surrounding regions of al-Andalus or recently conquered Christian realms, into the kingdom of Valencia, was largely a thirteenth-century phenomenon; by the following century, the Valencian welcome had begun to turn sour, and immigration became less frequent.

### **The Identity of Paterna Potters**

The possibility that the ceramics industry in Paterna was started by these immigrant Mudéjares is a real one. There is no evidence to show that ceramics were made in Paterna on any scale before the conquest, or that the techniques of glazing and decorating ceramics, which were widespread in al-Andalus, had reached Paterna in any significant way before that time.<sup>49</sup> The lack of a history of production of glazed

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<sup>47</sup> Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, p.34.

<sup>48</sup> Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, p.37.

<sup>49</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.132-66, dates the small number of glazed pieces which are in a different style, excavated in Paterna, to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, stating that they were made under Muslim rule; however there is no evidence for workshops in Paterna from this period.



ceramics in the town during the Islamic period, suggests that the technique must have been introduced from elsewhere, possibly by potters from other regions.

The great similarities between Paterna ware and ceramics made in fourteenth-century Teruel, in Aragon, are such that a relationship between the workshops is unquestionable; potters from Teruel may have come to Paterna after the conquest or vice versa, or they may share a common origin (this question is explored in detail in Chapter Nine).

The names and descriptions written in the notarial contracts for unglazed earthenware between merchants and potters from Paterna are the only clue we have as to the identity of potters and merchants in Paterna, although there are no contracts that deal specifically with Paterna ware. The earliest documents from 1285 to 1318 mention only Muslim names among the potters. Mafomat Algebha was described as a *sarracenus Paterne* in 1285, similarly Azmet Aben Calip and Mafomat Alacen in 1317.<sup>50</sup> Christian names start appearing in the contracts by 1318, among the earliest contracts between potters and merchants. López Elum notes that the Christian potters tend to make smaller capacity vessels than the larger vessels made by Mudéjar potters, but given the small number of documents for this period, such a distinction is difficult to establish.<sup>51</sup>

It is also possible that some of the Christian-sounding names were in fact Muslims or Muslims who had converted to Christianity; in 1412 two potters in Manises, Johan Belluga and Habrafim Alcazon were identified in the contracts as Muslims, despite the Christian sounding name of the first.<sup>52</sup> Muslims are generally identified as such in the contract with the word *sarracenus* after their name, and where the name sounds

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<sup>50</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes de la cerámica de Manises y de Paterna (1285-1335)*, (Valencia, 1984) p.68. For the 1317 see de Osma, *Adiciones* (Madrid 1921) contract no.2.

<sup>51</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.83.

<sup>52</sup> Both identified as 'sarracenus magistri operis terre' (Muslim master potters) in the contract, dated 1412. See De Osma, *Los Maestros Alfareros*, p.105.

Christian and the individual is not specified as a 'sarracenus', we can probably assume them to be a Christian.

Unlike the potters, the names of the merchants or contractors who were buying the pottery are exclusively Christian, including Arnaldo de Castellario, Vitali Ferrer, B. Cabot and B. Mazella (forenames not given), Domingo Casellis, Guillem Magencosa and Bernat de Montpedro. The notaries were also Christians – Domingo Claramunt and Aparici Lappart the most common figures.<sup>53</sup>

The frequency with which Christian names were mentioned alongside Muslims as potters in the contract documents increased during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reflecting the fact that by this time the general population of Paterna was a very mixed Christian and Muslim one. One Haçmet Payoni, *sarracenus magister operis terre vicinus loci de Paterna* ('Muslim master potter resident in Paterna') sold pottery to a Christian merchant, Raymundus de Puigroy from Valencia in 1412.<sup>54</sup> In 1415, Çahat Fucey, a Paterna Muslim or *sarraceno de Paterna*, sold pottery to Francisco Siurana from Valencia.<sup>55</sup> But in 1415, Bernardo Sanxo Alcudori was named as the maker of sugar moulds from Paterna in a contract with a Christian from Valencia; he was not described as a Muslim and the fact that two Christians signed the contract suggests that he too was a Christian.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Joan Vidrier, Guillem Lorqua and Eximeno Garcia were among the Christian names listed as potters in Paterna at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

While the identity of the potters cannot be assumed only from their names, which relate to unglazed, largely undecorated ware rather than to Paterna ware, these contract

<sup>53</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.83.

<sup>54</sup> De Osma, *Los Maestros*, no.12. 'Contrato de Haçmet Payoni, maestro alfarero de Paterna. Archivo Regional de Valencia, 1412.

<sup>55</sup> De Osma, *Los Maestros*, no.18 p.109.

<sup>56</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones*, no.19 p.109.

<sup>57</sup> López Elum, *La producción cerámica*, pp.33-34.

documents paint a picture of a ceramics industry which was dependent on the close collaboration of Muslims and Christians. At the time when Paterna ware was being made in the early fourteenth century, the potters working with an Islamic technique were probably mostly Mudéjares but collaborating with Christian merchants and dealers in Paterna and beyond.

### **Language**

The question of what languages were spoken by the potters in Paterna is important because it can tell us about the cultural context within which these ceramics were made. As Niederehe has outlined in his work on the language used in the Alfonsine *Cantigas*, the decision to use one language or another is not strictly tied to political or ethnic allegiances, but is a pragmatic one, which depends on the cultural context in which that language was used.<sup>58</sup> The inhabitants of Paterna, particularly the potters, had a practical need to communicate with each other across religious divides, for trade and mercantile purposes, for regulating water usage, and for issues over the use of land for example. The absence of references in the contract documents to translators or to problems of communication among the potters and merchants, suggests that some degree of bilingualism was not unusual. Catlos draws a similar conclusion in his study of the Mudéjares of the nearby Ebro region.<sup>59</sup>

However the lack of documentary evidence makes it difficult to know what languages the Mudéjar population of Paterna might have used. Latin was the written language for official documents in the Crown of Aragon, including the contracts of sale for pottery in Paterna. There are no surviving documents in Arabic from Paterna, but physical evidence of a knowledge of Arabic in the fifteenth century can be found in signatures

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<sup>58</sup> Hans-Josef Niederehe, 'Alfonso el Sabio y la fisionomía lingüística de la Península Ibérica de su época', Fernando Carmona Fernández and Francisco José Flores Arroyuelo (eds.), *La Lengua y la Literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X: Actas del Congreso Internacional*, Murcia, 5-10 March 1984, (Murcia, 1985) pp. 415-436.

<sup>59</sup> Catlos, 'Contexto y Conveniencia en la Corona de Aragón: Propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre grupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios', *Revista d'Història Medieval*, 12 (Valencia, 2001-2003) p.311.

written in Arabic, which were inscribed in the earthenware discs that sat on the potter's wheel and were used to transfer the turned pots from wheel to drying table (see Fig.4 below). Ceramic tiles (known as *socarrats*) painted with inscriptions in Arabic from the fifteenth century also show knowledge of colloquial written Arabic among Paterna potters.

Within the wider region of Valencia, there is evidence that both Arabic and Romance were widely used.<sup>60</sup> Scholarship has tended to agree on a widespread and early Arabisation of the population in Islamic Valencia and the continuation of the use of Arabic in post-conquest Valencia.<sup>61</sup> There is general consensus among scholars that within Valencia, the majority population was Mudéjar until well into the fourteenth century, and it is likely that at this time, Arabic (specifically a Valencian dialect of Andalusí Arabic)<sup>62</sup> was their first language.<sup>63</sup> The everyday language of the Christian population throughout the Crown of Aragon was Romance, an ancestor of modern Catalan, which developed from 'vulgar' Latin during the Visigothic period.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> In fact, Meyerson suggests that many Valencian Muslims would have been bilingual Romance and Arabic speakers, until as late as the seventeenth century. Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: between coexistence and crusade* (Berkeley, California, 1991), p.228.

<sup>61</sup> Burns, *Muslims, Christians*, pp.173-174, outlines the differing views of historians and particularly the work of the structuralist historian Pierre Guichard, the Arabist Mikel de Epalza and the essayist Joan Fuster, in revising views on the early Arabization of the population of Valencia and the continuation of spoken Arabic in the region post-conquest.

<sup>62</sup> Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, pp.353-54.

<sup>63</sup> John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure : Muslim communities under the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century* (New Haven, 1977), p.384. Also Brian Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims in Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300* (Cambridge, 2004) p.242.

<sup>64</sup> For publications on the origins of Romance and its relationship with Latin in Iberia see Consuelo López-Morillas, 'Language' in Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, Michael Sells (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Literature of Al-Andalus* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 33-35.



*Fig.4* Large earthenware disc known as a *rodel*. Paterna, fifteenth century. Inscribed with the signature, presumably of the potter, 'Muhammad al-Waki' Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia. Inv.1/8244.

Given the contact the Mudéjares would have had with the Christian population both within Paterna and with traders from outside the town, it is likely that many Mudéjares in Paterna would have been bilingual, particularly those who had most contact with merchants and traders from Valencia. It is of course not possible to judge the level of bilingualism or indeed of literacy of the potters with much accuracy, but a certain knowledge of the language spoken by the Christian population would indicate a level of integration of the Mudéjar population with the new ruling class.

### **Mudéjar Daily Life and Social Status**

The arrival of Christian rule in the kingdom of Valencia had minimal impact on the daily lives of Mudéjares at first, but as the economy declined and resources began to be stretched during the course of the fourteenth century, conditions deteriorated and significant restrictions were increasingly imposed on the daily lives of Mudéjares. This section will examine what is known about the lives and changing status of Mudéjares in medieval Valencia and Paterna in particular.

The social status of the Mudéjar population depended to a large extent on the time and place in question, as those Muslims who remained in Castilian territory had a very different experience from those of Aragon, while even within Aragon, those of Valencia

city, for example, whose Muslims did not immediately surrender to Jaume's troops, were initially treated much more harshly than those of Paterna.<sup>65</sup>

When the Muslims of Paterna surrendered to Jaume I, the king promised to allow them to continue their lives as before. It was in the Crown's interest for the Mudéjares, as they now were, to be rapidly categorised and assimilated so taxes could begin to be collected. Land had been divided by the Crown among nobles such as Artal de Luna in Paterna, the Church and the Crown itself; all were keen to retain people to work on their land and to that end, offered incentives, including tax and rent remissions and free land, to those who would remain. Continuity seems to have prevailed in the several decades following the conquests, and despite the change of ruler, local Mudéjar communities continued to govern themselves in most matters.

Burns describes the persistence of the Muslim culture in conquered Valencia:

'Valencia continued to look much like other Islamic lands; when the muezzin called over the countryside, it even sounded much the same. Islamic courts passed judgement; Moorish officials administered affairs as usual. Arabic names, uneasy on the Catalan tongue, defined the realm from top to bottom and obtruded at many turnings within the cities. External landmarks tended to persist – boundaries of political units, roads, baths, ovens, mills, vineyards, merchants' inns, markets, and even the kinds of houses.'<sup>66</sup>

In the rural parts of Valencia, Mudéjares were mostly farmers, raising grain and fruit often for export. It was common for Mudéjares who lived in urban communities however, to work as craftsmen. The pottery industry was a thriving one in the fourteenth century, the second most common occupation in the Valencia region after retail merchandising.<sup>67</sup> While Paterna and Manises seem to have been the centres of the decorated ceramics industry, ceramics were also made in Valencia city as well as in other towns in the Valencian *huerta*, such as Quart, Burjasot, Alfara, Aldaya and

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<sup>65</sup> For the Mudéjar experience in Castile, see Jerrilynn Dodds, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy. Christians, Jews and Muslims in the making of Castilian culture* (New Haven, London, 2008).

<sup>66</sup> Burns, *Islam*, p.10.

<sup>67</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.56.

Mislata.<sup>68</sup> Apart from Valencia city, these areas have not been substantially excavated in recent times so the extent of their ceramics industries is not entirely clear. Valencian Mudéjares also maintained the irrigation systems and supplied the royal chancery with paper.<sup>69</sup>

By the fourteenth century, most towns in the kingdom of Valencia had a *morería*, a distinct geographical urban area where Mudéjares lived separately from Jews and Christians. The mosque, markets, homes, public baths, meat market, baker and workshops of the Mudéjares would have been situated in the *morería*. In Paterna, the *morería* was probably situated in the area between the castle to the north, the *Ollerías Menores* to the west and the *huerta* to the south, with the Uncía canal running through it and the Christian settlements to the north around the castle (see Fig.13 p.108, which shows the castle ('alcazar') marked as number 2. The Uncía canal at the *Ollerías Menores* is shown in Fig.7 p.89). This urban area has not been excavated significantly, so the exact limits of the *morería* are not known. A contract from 1409 over the sale of a piece of land in Paterna specifies that it be in the irrigated area beside the mosque:

Eximeno Despuig sells to Blasco of Tarazona...'*un camp en l'orta prop la mesquita*', (a field in the orchard alongside the mosque).

Another document, from 1491, specifically mentions the *morería*:

'Ferrando Delma, maior, magister operis terra' sells to Mahomet Zarra a house situated in the *morería* beside that of Abdalla Fucey...and beside the *mesquita*.<sup>70</sup>

This 'ghettoization' of Mudéjares in Valencia may not have been entirely a device imposed by the Christians on the Muslim population. As Catlos points out, segregation of living spaces works both ways; it is both imposed by the ruling group and demanded by the separated group.<sup>71</sup> In Teruel in 1275, the Mudéjar population asked Jaume I if they could build themselves a *morería*, which they were granted within the walls of the

<sup>68</sup> Francisco A. Roca Traver, 'Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval (1238-1338) *Estudios de edad media en la Corona de Aragón* 5, (Zaragoza, 1952) p.52-53.

<sup>69</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.58.

<sup>70</sup> De Osma, *Los Maestros*, p.99. (This quote translated from Spanish to English by the author).

<sup>71</sup> Catlos, *Victors*, p.302.

town.<sup>72</sup> The building of *morerías* was not institutionalised in the thirteenth century, and even in the fourteenth century when such segregated living practices were widespread, evidence indicates that the prohibitions on Christians, Muslims and Jews living outside of their own quarters were not respected, and that there was a considerable mingling of the populations.<sup>73</sup> Muslims, Christians and Jews worked, drank, gambled and went to brothels together, according to documents from the time.<sup>74</sup> Undoubtedly, the pressure on Mudéjares to live within segregated areas increased during the fourteenth century when there began to be more pressure on land from Christian immigration.<sup>75</sup>

By the mid-fourteenth century, the conditions for Mudéjares in Valencia had become more difficult.<sup>76</sup> The forced conversion of Mudéjares was against Christian law and therefore rare,<sup>77</sup> and throughout the thirteenth century, Mudéjares were mostly allowed to keep their mosques, schools and cemeteries and practice their call to prayer. During the fourteenth century however, the public call to prayer became a point of protest for the increasing Christian population.<sup>78</sup> Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1311 forbade the public invoking of Muhammad's name and the call to prayer.<sup>79</sup> Jaime I immediately condemned it on pain of death - in practice the *çala* was allowed to continue within the *morerías* but not in the Christian centres.<sup>80</sup> But by the mid-fourteenth century, the call to prayer had become a privilege, rather than a right, which was granted to certain *aljamas* in return for a payment, indicating that the balance of power and authority in Valencia had firmly swung away from the Mudéjares.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Catlos, *Victors*, p.302.

<sup>73</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.66.

<sup>74</sup> Catlos, *Victors*, p.304.

<sup>75</sup> Burns, *Islam*, p.153.

<sup>76</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.42.

<sup>77</sup> Burns, *Islam*, p.184.

<sup>78</sup> The call to prayer was known as the '*çala*', from the Arabic '*salat*', it was called five times a day by the *muezzin* from the minaret of the towns.

<sup>79</sup> Roca Traver, 'Un Siglo', p.27.

<sup>80</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.264.

<sup>81</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.266.



The Black Death reached Valencia in June 1348, recurring in 1351 and 1362,<sup>82</sup> and contemporaries estimated that between 300 and 1,000 people died each day.<sup>83</sup> Catalonia lost an estimated 20% of its population;<sup>84</sup> similar figures are likely to have affected the region of Valencia.<sup>85</sup> Less than a decade later, the war between Aragon and Castile (1356-1375), fought between Pedro IV of Aragon and Pedro I of Castile, had a devastating effect on the economies and populations of the Valencia region.<sup>86</sup>

Mudéjar populations in Valencia were particularly affected by the war, as they were forced to fight for the Crown in greater numbers than Christians, ordered to pay taxes from which they had previously been exempt and much of their property was confiscated. The primary difference between Mudéjares who lived directly under Crown rule and those who lived under nobles was in who claimed their taxes and to whom they owed labour and military duties. In Paterna, which was governed by nobles, Mudéjares would have paid taxes, owed labour services and military duties to their lord rather than the king. But the Crown could nevertheless deny freedom to any Mudéjar in the land and demand military service from him. Many Mudéjares fled their towns during the war, while others were forced to spend any money they had on fortifying their towns and sometimes even burning their own fields.<sup>87</sup>

In Paterna, Coll notes that the number of documents referring to Paterna potters declined significantly in the second half of the fourteenth century, and are more often than not oblique references to the industry, such as a notice of Paterna potters who were sent to work on making lustre-painted and blue and white tiles at the Papal

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<sup>82</sup> Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon. A Short History* (Oxford, 1986) p.109.

<sup>83</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1996), p.235.

<sup>84</sup> Paul Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, New York, 1991) p.162.

<sup>85</sup> Bisson, *The Medieval Crown* p.165 estimates the mortality rate for the Crown of Aragon as a whole at 25-35%.

<sup>86</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p.386 notes that by the early 1360, 'practically all of Valencia west of Játiva was destitute and depopulated.'

<sup>87</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, pp.386-87.

Palace at Avignon in 1364.<sup>88</sup> In 1391, potters from Paterna wrote to king Martín I to tell him that they had to go to Catalonia, Castile and other parts to earn money to pay their debts.<sup>89</sup> This emigration from Paterna for economic reasons was observed in 1380 when the lady of Paterna and wife of Martín I, María de Luna, complained that the potters in Paterna were going to other areas to work and that she was not receiving the taxes from them.<sup>90</sup>

Population estimates for the kingdom of Valencia, using a number of different sources, show a general trend towards an increase in population in the first part of the fourteenth century with the immigration of Christians and Muslims, to around 300,000, followed by a great fall of population to around 120,000 in 1365.<sup>91</sup> Paterna town probably followed a similar trend of population increase in the fourteenth century followed by decline. The population of Paterna at the time of the conquest in 1238 was a Muslim one; by 1521 the proportion of Muslims to Christians in the town was 44% Muslim to 56% Christian.<sup>92</sup> This was a population in decline, which had just been severely affected by violent civil unrests in 1521. Known as the rebellion of the 'Germanías' or Brotherhood, this was a Christian peasant and artisan rebellion in 1521 against the seigneurial order, which targeted Mudéjar artisans in particular and resulted in large scale destruction in Paterna and the burning of most of the workshops, as demonstrated in the archaeological evidence by a layer of ash found at that level (see Chapter Eight). A census in Paterna from almost a century later showed a town abandoned by the Mudéjares and with a greatly reduced total Christian population.<sup>93</sup> The population of Paterna did not begin to recover until the eighteenth century.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.56.

<sup>89</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.56.

<sup>90</sup> Francisco Javier Cervantes Peris, 'Renta Feudal y Organización de la Producción Alfarera en Segorbe, Paterna y Benaguasil. S.XV' *VI Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*, Teruel 1993 (Zaragoza, 1995) pp.386-87.

<sup>91</sup> Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib, xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1966), cited in Burns, *Muslims Christians*, p.138.

<sup>92</sup> Gimeno Roselló, *Las Germanías en Paterna. El tejido artesanal alfarero* (Paterna, 1995), p.39.

<sup>93</sup> The census from 1609 shows the Christian households reduced to a total of 85 down from 159 in 1521, while the only thirty houses registered as Muslim households in 1609 had been

Paterna ware flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century, during a relatively brief period when Mudéjares were still enjoying most of the freedoms they had under Muslim rule; when the population of Valencia was on a steep incline and the social and cultural make-up of the kingdom was undergoing profound changes with the influx of immigrant populations from the Christian north and surrounding Muslim regions. It was under these fleeting, favourable conditions that the decorated, glazed pottery made in Paterna could develop into a commercial industry.

Wider economic factors influenced the success of the ceramics industry, factors such as the irrigation and agricultural success of the *huerta* region and the subsequent surplus of food and export trade which created a greater demand for containers for oil, wine and foodstuffs; similarly, events such as the Black Death and the War with Castile were to have a very negative impact on the production of pottery in Paterna.

The status of the Mudéjar population also changed with these wider economic conditions. Paradoxically, while linguistically the Arabic and Romance speaking communities in Valencia seemed to have become more integrated with the passage of time, with bilingualism gradually becoming the norm, in terms of their rights under the Crown, the Mudéjares became less integrated with the increasingly powerful Christian population during the course of the fourteenth century. As the following chapter will demonstrate, this question of integration or 'convivencia', which has dominated discussions about the Mudéjares and the art of post-conquest Spain, needs to be reviewed in the light of recent, more detailed research on specific Mudéjar communities such as that of Paterna.

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abandoned by Muslims who had been expelled in that same year from the town. See Gimeno Roselló, *Las Germanías*, pp.39-41

<sup>94</sup> Gimeno Roselló, *Las Germanías*, pp.39-41.

## **Chapter Four**

### **THEORETICAL ISSUES**

In the field of Mudéjar art, as in art history in general, much confusion can arise from the diversity of labels attached to different artistic styles and materials at different periods and in different locations. It is necessary at the outset, therefore, to bring some clarity of names and definitions to the subject and thus to establish a basis for consistency within this study and in the study of Mudéjar art in general.<sup>1</sup>

The term 'Mudéjar' is generally used to describe both the Paterna potters and their art, but this term has different layers of meaning which affect how we look at the ceramics and their makers. The plurality of identities and affiliations of the potters make it impossible to define the ceramics or the potters purely by their religious identity, as indicated by describing them as 'Mudéjar' or 'Christian'. Similarly, the word 'convivencia' has often been used to describe the society of Muslims, Jews and Christians in pre- and post-conquest Iberia, in which the three communities are assumed to have lived harmoniously. But this term too carries its own cultural baggage and does not adequately reflect the economic and cultural interdependence of communities in Paterna.

The main protagonists in the story of Paterna ceramics are the potters, the majority of whom were, at least at the start of the industry, Mudéjares. Art historians of this period have tended to classify the ceramics they produced as 'Mudéjar art', placing them alongside other 'Mudéjar art' like brick church architecture, tilework, painted ceilings

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<sup>1</sup>The principal ideas discussed in this chapter were presented by the author in a paper at the Historians of Islamic Art Association biennial conference in Washington, DC (October 2010). An article by the author based on this paper will be published in a forthcoming volume of *Ars Orientalis*.

and carpentry work.<sup>2</sup> But who were the Mudéjares and is there really such a thing as Mudéjar art?

The origins of the term 'Mudéjar' are problematic. The word refers to the Muslim population that remained in Spain after the Christian conquests. It is probably a corruption of the Arabic *al-mudajjanūn* meaning 'those allowed to remain', with its implications of 'tamed' or 'domesticated',<sup>3</sup> a term with undertones of subjugation which imply a relationship of victor and vanquished.<sup>4</sup> The word gained currency among the Christian population in the fifteenth century; contemporaries of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Muslims of Valencia who are the subject of this thesis, would have called these Muslims 'Moros' (Moors), or 'Saraceni' in Latin (Saracens) or in Catalan 'Sarrains'. Jaume I referred to the Valencian Muslims both as 'Saracens' and 'Moors'.<sup>5</sup>

The situation was very different when the region of Valencia was first conquered and for the first century or so after this. Muslims were by far the majority population in Valencia and, although they surrendered to or were conquered by the Christians, their way of life, culture, customs, language and income changed little until the mid-fourteenth century. It is misleading to define this Muslim population by their act of submission to Christian rule alone.

Although the word Mudéjar has now entered into the lexicon and lost any implication of subjugation among today's scholars, the term remains problematic because it is used to describe such a great diversity of populations. 'Mudéjares' can mean Muslims in thirteenth-century Valencia, fourteenth-century Aragon, Seville or fifteenth-century

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<sup>2</sup> Vivian Mann, Glick and Dodds (eds.), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, (New York, 1992). Also Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés* (Zaragoza, 1978).

<sup>3</sup> "Mudejar adj." *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, Twelfth edition. Ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. School of Oriental and African Studies. 10 March 2010 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t23.e36821>>

<sup>4</sup> Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago and London, 1990) p.4. Harvey discusses the connotations implicit in the use of the word 'Mudéjar', noting that the etymology of the word is related to terms used for domesticated animals, particularly poultry.

<sup>5</sup> See Burns, *Islam*, p.64 for the origins of the word and its usage in Valencia.

Granada. It covers four centuries of conquests and a large geographical area. In itself this may not be problematic if the population were unified and homogeneous. But the Muslims in question were not homogeneous; they were as divided into ethnic, regional and tribal groups under Islamic rule as they were under the politically and regionally diverse Christian rule. For example, the 'Guerra de los Dos Pedros' (epithet for the war fought between Castile and Aragon from 1356 to 1375) involved many military recruits from the Mudéjar populations on both the Aragonese and Castilian sides, fighting each other on behalf of Christian kings.

The treatment of the Muslims who were allowed to remain varied greatly according to who conquered them, and even according to when they were conquered. Within the Crown of Aragon itself, Jaume I expelled or enslaved all Muslims from the island of Mallorca in 1229, but in 1238 he allowed many of the Muslims from the region of Valencia, including those in Paterna, to live 'as in the time of their kings'.<sup>6</sup>

How the Mudéjares fared under Christian rule also depended on their ability to pay taxes and contribute to the Crown's coffers; skilled Mudéjares (such as the potters of Paterna and Manises) were highly valued by the Aragonese Crown in the early fourteenth century for this reason, and were positively encouraged to settle and allowed a large degree of freedom; those in less fortunate times or regions were sold into slavery and forbidden from owning land or practicing their religion openly.

The term 'Mudéjar' connotes little more than the religion practised by this disparate group - a very important matter in medieval Spain, but one that in no way encompasses all aspects of their daily lives, conditions or social standing.

Just as the term 'Mudéjar' encompasses a diversity of populations, so the descriptive 'Mudéjar art' covers a wide range of differing styles. It includes brick churches in Teruel, the Alcazar of Seville, the painted church ceiling of Sangre de Liria and the

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<sup>6</sup> *The Chronicle of James I of Aragon, surnamed the Conquerer*, tr. by Forster. Digitized edition (2007) page: [http://libro.uca.edu/chronicleofjames/deeds08.htm#N\\_17](http://libro.uca.edu/chronicleofjames/deeds08.htm#N_17) [accessed 18<sup>th</sup> November 2009].

ceramics of Paterna and Manises. The primary unifying factor behind these disparate styles and works of art, is the status of the people who created them and that of those who ordered them to be made – Mudéjares and their Christian patrons or employers. In terms of artistic style, they differ widely in the degree to which Islamic motifs and techniques are used; while the Alcázar of Seville looks Islamic in style, the Paterna ceramics are a hybrid of Islamic techniques and style with Romanesque and Gothic motifs.

It is far more relevant to our understanding of Paterna aesthetics to establish whether a piece was made not only in Mudéjar workshops, but also was produced in the kingdom of Valencia under the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century, with its Mediterranean connections, and its trading links to Italy, north Africa and southern France; that it was made in a town which had been granted to a noble connected with the regions of Aragon and Teruel; that it was made in a region within which Muslims were allowed relative freedoms to conduct business, travel and earn money. The political and economic conditions of the place in which art was produced had a greater effect, I would argue, on the kind of art and architecture produced than the fact of the artist's religion and status in relation to the patron. The idea that Mudéjar art might be recognised by the degree of 'Islamic influence' on its style is misleading: seven hundred years of Islamic al-Andalus left its mark on everyone and everyone's art - Christians, Jews and Muslims alike.

As a description of the Muslims living under Christian rule, the term 'Mudéjar' is a legitimate and useful one. Most of the Paterna potters were Mudéjares and the significance of this status is one that I explored in the previous chapter. It is the descriptive term 'Mudéjar art' which must be used with caution, with reference to specific groups and their particular geographic or political experience, rather than as a sweeping generalised term denoting a presumably homogeneous style or period of art. Not only does this term tell us little about the art or object itself; it also profoundly

affects the way we look at art. Using the qualifier 'Mudéjar' removes the so-called 'Mudéjar' art – be it a church, a ceiling or a decorated bowl – from the art of the mainstream. If there is a 'Mudéjar' style, it is implied, there must therefore be a dominant style against which Mudéjar art is defined – usually with negative connotation. This implicit contrasting of Mudéjar with a presumed mainstream art tends to privilege the culture of the conqueror, of the Christian (i.e. Spanish, Catholic) over the Muslim, without evidence to support such a hierarchy. It denies the essentially hybrid, protean nature of cultural identity which was the reality of medieval Spain. This hybrid culture was itself the mainstream.

Dodds *et al* describe the problem with using the term 'Mudéjar' in relation to architectural styles, in *Arts of Intimacy*:

'The problem rests, [rather] in the futile attempt to find a global term to cover architecture that springs from deeply diverse contexts: geographic, demographic, social, and political considerations need to be taken into account – in addition to the training of the workforce. The taste for Islamic form, the selection of a particular workshop, and the presence of Christians and Muslims in one place are not always the key factors in the creation of these buildings. To give all architecture that results from Christian patrons electing an indigenous workforce that builds in a style formed under Islamic practice and taste the same name, 'Mudéjar', is to fetishize and marginalize it. It is to say, from our post-1492 point of view, that hybridity was an anomaly.'<sup>7</sup>

To define Paterna ware as 'Mudéjar art', is to suggest, as noted above, that there was some essential (Spanish, Christian, Catholic) style which was the norm, the real Valencian pottery, and that this Mudéjar pottery was a separate style, a branch in the history of pottery in Valencia.<sup>8</sup> It clearly was not; Paterna ware was the *only* glazed pottery made in Valencia at the time. If we want to use the terminology, it was the

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<sup>7</sup> Dodds *et al*, *Intimacy*, p.324.

<sup>8</sup> Dodds *et al*, *Intimacy*, p.328. They suggest not using the term 'Mudéjar' to refer to a general artistic style, but specifying its regional differences. So we can talk about 'Toledan Mudéjar' in relation to the distinctive twelfth and thirteenth century architecture of Toledo, but must abandon the term when describing the Nasrid and Castilian buildings of the Alcazar of Seville, which are so intimately connected with political history above their so-called Mudéjar connection. No alternative term is offered, it is simply suggested that one should be found. This is of course where the problem lies, as a general definition like 'Mudéjar' is a useful shortcut to describe many well known buildings and objects. But it seems that many of these objects and buildings have little fundamentally in common stylistically, and that it is our contemporary obsession with pitting Muslim against Christian and Jew in history that retrospectively links them together in an otherwise meaningless group.



mainstream. As Dodds *et al* explain in relation to the term 'Mudéjar' in architectural history:

'Today, to unify these buildings ahistorically, to classify them outside their specific political, chronological and geographic contexts, is to suggest that they do not fit within the mainstream of the different geographical and political cultures within which they are found. It is to suggest that hybridity itself is anomalous to, for instance, mainstream Castilian identity.'<sup>9</sup>

The term 'Mudéjar' may even not be technically accurate in the case of Paterna. Although the pottery industry was originally dominated by Muslims, as it developed there were an increasing number of Christian names among those who made pottery in Paterna, while the merchants who ordered and bought the ware were Christians. The industry was not an exclusively 'Mudéjar' one, not a unitary entity but (as stated), a mixed, hybrid affair.

The identity of the potters in Paterna was a shifting one.<sup>10</sup> Christians worked among them, to an increasing degree, and as a group the potters would probably have identified themselves as potters, or merchants, members of the Paterna irrigation community, or subjects of the Luna family, for example, more readily than by their religious affiliations. By calling their ceramics 'Paterna ware' rather than 'Mudéjar ceramics' we avoid unwanted emphasis on the religious status of the craftsmen and the unsupported privileging of an assumed Christian mainstream, emphasising instead the more neutral regional identity and the importance of local specifics to the material. For this reason, the subtitle of this thesis refers to 'Paterna ceramics' rather than 'Mudéjar ceramics', to privilege the local, regional and particular study of ceramics made in the town of Paterna rather than defining the ceramics along religious grounds.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Dodds *et al*, *Intimacy*, p.324.

<sup>10</sup> Dodds *et al*, *Intimacy*, p.328.

<sup>11</sup> The reference to Mudéjar Spain in the title draws the reader's attention to the fact that the ceramics industry was *dominated* by Mudéjares in the fourteenth century, but is careful not to identify the ceramics themselves as 'Mudéjar art'.

This discussion of identity and marginality in this thesis is indebted to the work of postcolonial cultural theorists, particularly the definition of the 'other' in respect of Muslims in relation to Christians. Edward Said's *Orientalism*<sup>12</sup> and especially *Culture and Imperialism*,<sup>13</sup> emphasise the importance of attention to the individual voices to counter the West's tendency to see Muslims as a monolithic adversary. In relation to the art of Mudéjar Spain, we need to look at specific Mudéjar experiences and styles rather than lump them all together in presumed opposition to 'Spanish' art. Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* attacked the West's tendency to represent cultures in terms of binary contrasts - centre versus margin, civilised versus savage. His theory of cultural hybridity argues that cultures must be understood as interactive, transformative, ambivalent and complex.<sup>14</sup>

In his preface to an edited book on the theme of interactions in the medieval Middle East, Montgomery challenges both the myth of a monolithic entity of Islam in the medieval world, and the linear assumption of the transmission of knowledge and influence from one civilization to another.<sup>15</sup> Instead of the influence of one, usually dominant, culture over another, he introduces the notion of 'crosspollination' to identify the movement of skills, knowledge and materials through the 'plurality of encounters between Islam and other adjacent cultures'.<sup>16</sup> Paterna ware has traditionally been described as the result of the influence of Islamic art on ceramics in a Christian world, but this idea of 'crosspollination' allows us to describe the impact of both cultures on the ceramics without the assumptions that 'influence' implies, assigning dominance to one over the other.

It is particularly relevant to break down the notion of the monolithic, Muslim other in relation to the particular European context of Mudéjar history. Huntington's theory of a

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<sup>12</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

<sup>14</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> James E. Montgomery, Anna Akasoy and Peter E. Pormann (eds.), *Islamic Crosspollinations. Interactions in the Medieval Middle East* (London, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> Montgomery *et al* (eds.) *Crosspollinations*, p.v (preface).

'clash of civilizations', a theory that posits monolithic civilizations largely defined by their religions, in fundamental opposition as the major driver of conflict in the modern world, does not apply in medieval Iberia.<sup>17</sup> The very nature of Paterna ware, with its mix of Islamic techniques with forms adopted from western European wooden tableware, decorated with pseudo-Arabic writing alongside figures from courtly literature popular in southern France and the Crown of Aragon, is an embodiment of the complexities of life in post-conquest Paterna and the multiple affiliations and reference points of the potters. The specific experiences and diversities within Mudéjar and Christian experiences in medieval Iberia reveal a hybrid culture that was deeply complex and interdependent. The potters enjoyed many identities that were not defined by their religion, such as potters, merchants, and subjects of the Crown of Aragon. Within Paterna, Muslims and Christians both worked as potters, farmers or merchants, were male or female; for example, the inhabitants of Paterna, regardless of religious affiliation, would have identified themselves as belonging to a community with irrigation rights to take water from the Moncada canal; this was a communal identity which was unified and distinct from that of other groups of irrigators in other towns along the canal, with whom they may have had disputes over water access or canal maintenance.<sup>18</sup>

In his critique of Huntington's theory, Amartya Sen challenges the notion of a person's identity as something fixed, arguing that people choose from among multiple affiliations and do so for many, often seemingly irrational, reasons.<sup>19</sup> Interactions across civilisational categories are inevitable and lead to internal diversities within these groups. Illustrating this, in Paterna we find physical evidence for the direct contact between the potters (mostly Mudéjares) and the merchants (Christians usually from Valencia or southern France) in the contractual documents drawn up between them for

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<sup>17</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> Glick, *Irrigation*.

<sup>19</sup> Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: the Illusion of Destiny* (London, 2006) pp.5-12.

producing and paying for ceramics. These contacts were surely only the tip of the iceberg in a place like medieval Paterna, where members of these religious 'civilizations' lived in the same town and worked in the same industry.<sup>20</sup>

### **Paterna – *convivencia* or *conveniencia*?**

I do not wish to paint a romanticised picture of Paterna society as a place of harmonious tolerance and unity where religious affiliations did not matter. This is an image of medieval Spain that is often promoted - an elusive *convivencia*, a golden age of Spanish history when the three religious groups lived alongside one another in harmony. As I shall argue, a more suitable description of Paterna society comes under the term *conveniencia*, which prioritises the symbiotic relationships among sectarian groups that were economically and legally intertwined.<sup>21</sup>

The word *convivencia* is sometimes used today as a casual by-word for an idealised and long-lost period of harmony and tolerance in medieval Spain, seen in sharp contrast to the religious conflict of modern times. Journalists hold up the idea of al-Andalus, using the term *convivencia*, as an alternative and more tolerant vision of history to a modern society where events such as 9/11 and the 2007 bombings in Madrid polarised groups along religious divides and reinvigorated the fatalistic theory of a 'clash of civilizations'. The word has developed a contemporary cultural significance that has as much to do with today's politics as it does with the medieval reality. An examination of the uses and implications of the term is necessary to see whether it is relevant to Paterna and the pottery industry, or whether a more nuanced word is necessary to take into account the specific conditions of the time.

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<sup>20</sup> In his response to Huntington's thesis, Edward Said wrote 'The Clash of Ignorance', *The Nation* (New York, 4<sup>th</sup> October 2001), in which he argued that civilizations and identities are not fixed and unchanging, but porous and interdependent.

<sup>21</sup> This term was proposed by Catlos in 'Contexto y Conveniencia', pp259-268, see also Catlos, *Victors*.

The term *convivencia* was coined in the nineteenth century by the Spanish historian Américo Castro (1885-1972) who used the term in his book *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (1948).<sup>22</sup> At the time, Spanish cultural historians were trying to explain the nature of Spanish identity; Castro argued that the peculiarities and distinctiveness of Spanish culture could be ascribed to the blending of Christian, Muslim and Jewish cultures between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, a way of living together which he called *convivencia*. He was particularly concerned with Muslim and Jewish influences on Castilian language and literature, as well as with the ambivalent attitude of Christians after the conquest towards the Muslims whom they expelled while remaining in admiration of them. His thesis gave Jews and Muslims a central role in the formation of the idea of 'Spanishness', which proved controversial.

The historian Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984) responded in his book *España: Un Enigma Histórico* (1956), in which he claimed that there was such a thing as an essential Spanish identity, *homo hispanus*, which was not 'tainted' by Muslim or Jewish cultures, but had its ancient roots in Celtiberia which remained unchanged in modern Spain.<sup>23</sup> Rather than Muslims and Jews influencing the Christian population, he argues that western Islamic culture was 'hispanified' by the 'native' Christians from the north. Castro, on the other hand, had argued that before *convivencia*, 'Spanish' identity did not exist in the Iberian peninsula - Spanish identity emerged from the flux of diverse experiences: 'The Spanish fashioned themselves within and over the course of the history of their experience'.<sup>24</sup>

As the twentieth century drew to a close, however, the rise of regional identities meant that most (so-called) Spaniards began to identify themselves in terms of their regions - as Catalan, Basque, Valencian, Andaluz or Mallorquin for example; the notion of a

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<sup>22</sup> Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires, 1948).

<sup>23</sup> Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (2 vols, Buenos Aires, 1956).

<sup>24</sup> Castro, *The structure of Spanish history*, trans. by Edmund L. King (Princeton, New Jersey, 1954), p.44.

national identity gradually became irrelevant as the more local, regional identities began to reassert themselves. These were regional communities responding to the changing political and economic conditions and opportunities of the post-Franco environment.

The debate started by Castro and Sánchez-Albornoz was largely applied to a Castilian version of Spanishness; *convivencia* between Muslims, Jews and Christians implied a kind of national Spanish Christian identity or even Spanish Muslim identity which no longer held true by the end of the twentieth century – and indeed never had. The idea of *convivencia* needed to be reappraised in the light of these new regional identities; broad generalisations of Spanish history had to be replaced by detailed examinations of local interactions.

The detailed research of historians like Burns, Glick, Meyerson, Boswell and Guichard into the history of the medieval Crown of Aragon led to a more nuanced idea of *convivencia* in relation to this region, particularly when applied to the conditions of the Muslims and Jews in a land ruled by Christians.<sup>25</sup> Rejecting the romanticised nineteenth-century version of *convivencia*, they began to use the term to mean a kind of coexistence.<sup>26</sup> They argued that the term *convivencia* could be used to describe the circumstances in which religious groups could interact with each other and exchange language, diet, dress for example as well as engaging in more subtle social interactions.<sup>27</sup>

Catlos in his recent work on the mechanics of social interactions between groups in the medieval Crown of Aragon, argues that the real relationship between these groups can be found in the interactions among small groups of people, interactions that are not so

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<sup>25</sup> See the Bibliography under their names for a selection of their works.

<sup>26</sup> See Mann, *Convivencia*, particularly Glick 'Convivencia: An Introductory Note' pp.1-7 which gives a brief reappraisal of the use of the term.

<sup>27</sup> Glick, 'Introductory Note' in *Convivencia*, p.5.

much affected by religious or national boundaries but by more local and prosaic issues, such as access to water, criminal activities, local festivals or markets.<sup>28</sup> Religious differences only became a source of tension when resources were stretched and in an atmosphere of insecurity. In this way, he emphasises that relations between a minority and majority group should not be viewed through the lens of monolithic cultures bouncing against each other like balls on a billiard table, but from the point of view of local and specific circumstances.<sup>29</sup>

The codified and formal laws laid down by the ruling group, Islamic or Christian, were often outweighed by the power of local customs, intercommunity pacts, local regulations (such as the amount of tax to be paid to the local noble), which varied widely according to contemporary local conditions.

Catlos describes this relationship based on mutual interests between Muslim and Christian as 'conveniencia' rather than *convivencia*, literally 'convenience', utility and mutual self-interest, over abstract ideals of tolerance and harmony. He explains that:

'domestic conditions exercised the most influence on the Mudéjar experience; complex and criss-crossing bonds of interest between Muslim and Christian parties sustained Mudéjar society by virtue of its utility - a case of *conveniencia* rather than *convivencia*.'<sup>30</sup>

It is these local, domestic conditions that determined the relationship between Muslim and Christian in medieval Paterna. There is no doubt of course that larger cultural events and global ideas eventually affected relations in communities such as Paterna. The failure of the Crusades to take the Holy Land; the increasingly hostile atmosphere towards Muslim populations across Europe, which resulted in the expulsion of the Mudéjar population in Sicily and the conversion of Muslims in Hungary; the Church's concern with heresy at the Council of Vienne in southern France in 1311-12; the

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<sup>28</sup> Catlos, 'Contexto y Conveniencia', pp.262-63.

<sup>29</sup> Catlos, 'Contexto y Conveniencia', p.267.

<sup>30</sup> Catlos, *Victors*, p.407.

Mongol threat – all these wider events influenced the attitudes and ideas in the Crown of Aragon and perhaps encouraged greater confrontation between Muslim and Christian as the fourteenth century wore on.

But particularly in the early fourteenth century, when Paterna ware began to be made, relations within the town were also very much determined by local conditions. The townspeople identified themselves not only as members of one or other powerful religious or linguistic group, but also along other lines, as described above.

Similar issues of identity and hybridity of culture as reflected in glazed ceramic tableware were addressed by Blackman and Redford in their study of medieval Port Saint Symeon ware (also known as al-Mina ware) at Kinet in southern Turkey.<sup>31</sup> Trade and contacts between Muslims, Armenians and Crusaders led to the production of similar glazed ware in multiple centres across the northeastern Mediterranean coast. The active involvement of Italian merchants who bought and sold this ware led to the creation of a common taste and multiple production centres of this kind of ware. They found that where there were differences in the material culture, these were not determined by sect, ethnicity or politics but were much more easily linked to geography.

Perhaps the term *conveniencia* coined by Catlos gives a more accurate description of the reality for the pottery industry at least in Paterna, a society in which agreements based on the mutual legal, economic and social interests of the population cut across sectarian divisions. The term *convivencia* retains implications of a modern idea of tolerance which would have been alien to medieval society; Muslim and Christian identities were not set aside in Paterna – the contract documents clearly identified who

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<sup>31</sup> Blackman, M. James and Redford, Scott, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey, especially Port Saint Symeon Ware', *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 42 (2005) pp.83-186.



was a *sarracenus* among the potters and witnesses, while Muslims lived to a large extent in a separate part of the town from Christians, the *morería*; so it is difficult to talk about *convivencia*, or literally 'living togetherness', in the case of Paterna at least. But neither did these religious differences stop Muslims from making their pottery and from working directly with Christian merchants.

This symbiotic relationship between cultures is useful to keep in mind when we read about the idea of a contemporary (Christian) Europe under threat from a monolithic, Islamic culture expounded by some contemporary writers, such as the American journalist Christopher Caldwell. His recent book suggests that Europe's 'core values' will have to undergo deep changes to accommodate increasing Muslim immigrants.<sup>32</sup> He pits 'European culture' against a Muslim culture which he says is 'anchored, confident and strengthened by common doctrines' in a competition which he argues Europe will lose.<sup>33</sup> The specific experience of Paterna potters, Muslims living under Christian rule, working with Christian merchants and Christian potters, economically interdependent and inextricably linked in their daily lives, provides an alternate vision of that European culture which should not be ignored.

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<sup>32</sup> Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West* (London, 2009).

<sup>33</sup> Caldwell, interviewed by Marc Leijendekker, 'Europe is changing to accommodate Islam, says US author', *NRC Handelsblad*, (Rotterdam, Netherlands, 8 September 2009). [http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2353318.ece/Europe\\_is\\_changing\\_to\\_accomodate\\_Islam,\\_says\\_US\\_author](http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2353318.ece/Europe_is_changing_to_accomodate_Islam,_says_US_author) [accessed 4<sup>th</sup> January 2010].

## Part Two

## **Chapter Five**

### **EXCAVATIONS, DISTRIBUTION AND COLLECTIONS**

Part One of this thesis has presented Paterna ware within its broad historical and literary framework. This preliminary section has provided the methodological and theoretical context within which I hope to examine Paterna ware itself in detail in Parts Two and Three.

This chapter examines where Paterna ware has been found, including the workshops and sites of production, places outside of Paterna where it may have been used by consumers, and where it can be seen today in collections. The vast majority of Paterna ware represented in the Catalogue was discarded material dug up from the ground at the workshop sites in Paterna during the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> The fact that these were ceramics discarded at their production sites in Paterna indicates that many were probably defects which were not of a high enough standard to be sold. These defects are evident in many of the vessels, on which the glaze may have crawled or the pigments discoloured. Smaller quantities have survived which were found outside of the production area in Paterna, in surrounding regions such as Valencia city and at Torre Bofilla, as well as further afield in the western Mediterranean, in Mallorca, Sardinia, southern France and Sicily for example. These are pieces which were sold and exported from Paterna following production. Very similar ceramics to Paterna ware were also probably made in other centres in the Valencia region, such as Manises and Valencia city; they have not been extensively excavated but the evidence for a certain volume of production is laid out here. The final section examines how the production sites were rediscovered in the twentieth century and have been excavated sporadically

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<sup>1</sup> Maria Antonia Casanovas, curator of the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona, told me that if someone claims to her to have found a piece of Paterna ware, the first thing to ask is whether it is broken or not. If it is complete, it is not genuine. This is a reflection of the fact that the vast majority of material comprises discarded pieces from the workshops.

since then. Most of the ceramics excavated from Paterna itself have ended up in public collections in Spain; the relevant collections and the acquisition history of Paterna ware are detailed here.

**Paterna production sites: *Ollerías Mayores* and *Ollerías Menores***



*Fig.5* Satellite image showing the sites of the *Ollerías Mayores* and the *Ollerías Menores*, with Paterna upper right and Manises lower left, separated by the river Turia. (From Google Earth.)

The earliest mention by name of the two areas where pottery workshops were situated in Paterna is in a group of inventories from 1403, which was published by de Osma in 1911.<sup>2</sup> These documents mention the *Ollerías Mayores* ('the large potteries' – described in the documents as *olerías majors*) and the *Ollerías Menores* ('the small

<sup>2</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones*, p.14.

potteries' – described in the documents as *oleries menors* or *oleries xiques*).<sup>3</sup> Each of these two areas included various workshops and kilns.<sup>4</sup>

The site of the *Ollerías Mayores* workshops was discovered in the early twentieth century, while Mesquida documented the *Ollerías Menores* workshops in the 1980s.<sup>5</sup> Although their full extent has not been discovered, as the urban area of Paterna has become increasingly built-up since the nineteenth century making archaeological investigations difficult, it is now possible to pinpoint exactly where both areas were situated.

The *Ollerías Mayores* workshops were situated near the nineteenth-century water mill (used for milling flour) known as the 'Molino del Testar' (which literally means "the mill of the discarded ceramics"), a mill that used water from the Moncada irrigation canal that ran through the site.<sup>6</sup> The site is located around one kilometre west of Paterna, towards the banks of the river Turia, which separates Paterna from Manises. The main area which has been the focus of excavations in the second half of the twentieth century, is identified as plot number 41 on the town plans (see *Fig.6*); at the time of its first excavation in the early twentieth century, it was known as 'La Roja de Cañizares'.<sup>7</sup> Earlier excavations, including those from 1907 to 1911 and the 1968 excavations led by Alfonso Barberà, included the area to the left of this field, plot number 46.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>I have used the Castilian version of these names for clarity, but both are often noted in the Valencian language as 'Oleries Majors' and 'Oleries Menors'.

<sup>4</sup>De Osma, *Adiciones*, pp.14-15.

<sup>5</sup>Mesquida, *Ollerías*, in which the position and layout of the workshops is summarised.

<sup>6</sup>Mesquida, 'Paterna en la Edad Media', in Azuar and Gutierrez and Valdes (eds.) *Urbanismo Medieval del País Valenciano*, p.315.

<sup>7</sup>Rafael Alfonso Barberà, *La Cerámica Medieval de Paterna* (Alboraya, 1978), p.84.

<sup>8</sup>Alfonso Barberà, *La Cerámica*, pp.84-85 for the maps, which are also reproduced here. These indicate the site of the 1907-1911 campaigns, to the left of the *parcela 41* site.

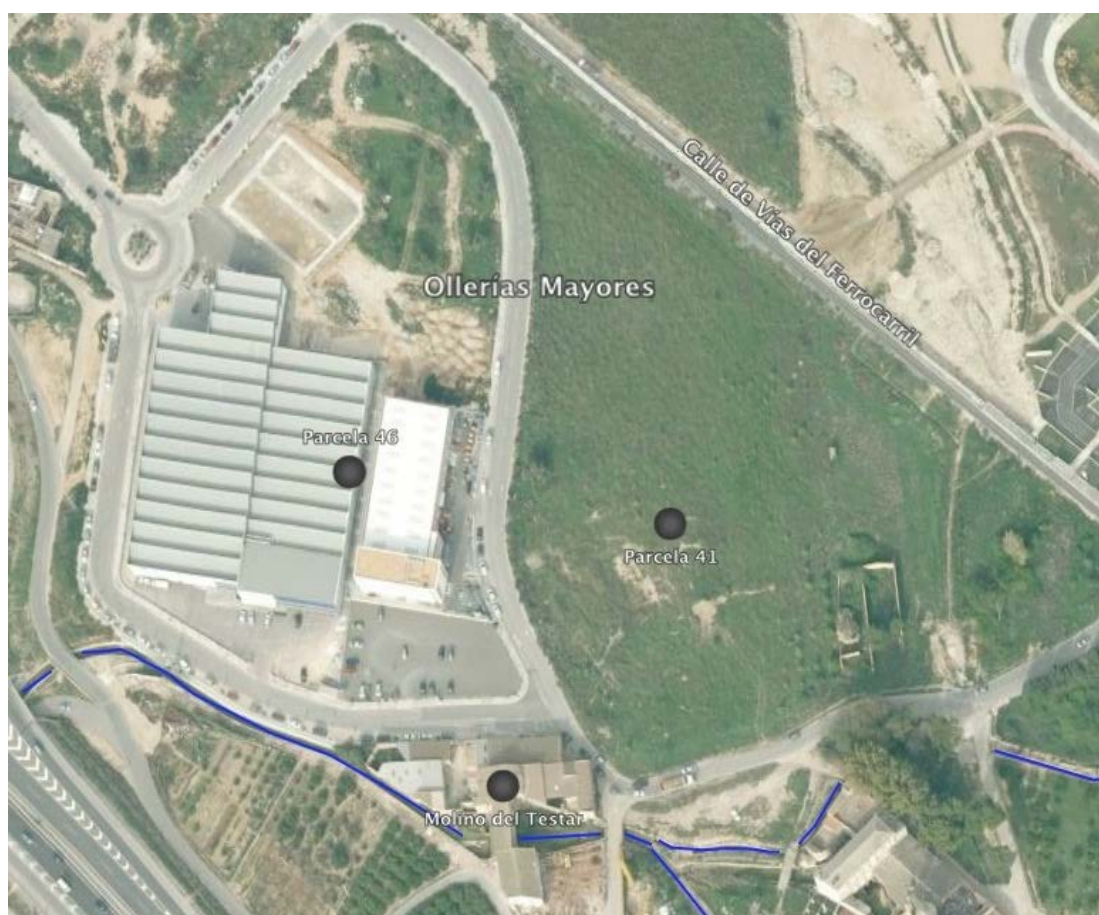


Fig.6 Satellite image (detail of the image above) of the *Ollerías Mayores*, showing the approximate areas of plots 41 and 46 and the Molino del Testar. The Moncada canal is shown as a blue line. (From Google Earth.)

The *Ollerías Menores* were described in the 1403 text as being in Paterna along the small road to the town of Liria.<sup>9</sup> This road is now within the urban confines of Paterna and the workshops have been excavated sporadically as urban development has continued within the town of Paterna.<sup>10</sup> Mesquida identified this zone of the *Ollerías Menores* as the area occupying the alluvial terraces of the southern part of Paterna on the outskirts of the medieval town, to the south of the Muslim area and the southwest of the Christian area, crossed from west to east by the 'Uncía' branch of the irrigation canal, from which the potters would have drawn their water.<sup>11</sup>

The Uncía is a tributary of the larger Moncada, and the former draws a lesser volume of water, which might explain why the *Ollerías Menores* were so named as small in

<sup>9</sup> Mesquida. 'Paterna en la Edad Media', p.323: 'les oleries menors de Paterna...[en el] camí que va a Liria' (The small workshops of Paterna...[on the] road which goes to Liria) from De Osma, *Adiciones*, p.15.

<sup>10</sup> Mesquida 'Paterna en la Edad Media', p.323.

<sup>11</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.87.



comparison with the *Ollerías Mayores*, which took water directly from the Moncada.<sup>12</sup>

The name could also refer to the relative number of workshops or size of ceramics produced in each centre.



Fig.7 Satellite image of Paterna town with the excavation sites in the *Ollerías Menores* area marked. (Each excavation (from 1983 to 2000) is marked and named).<sup>13</sup> The remaining urban overground section of the Uncía irrigation canal is visible top left as a blue line. (From Google Earth).

<sup>12</sup> Gimeno Roselló, *Las Germanías*, p.48.

<sup>13</sup> The information for this satellite map is largely taken from Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.15 Fig.1.

### **The Distribution of Paterna Ware**

The archaeological evidence suggests a pattern of distribution for Paterna ware largely within the local kingdom of Valencia. Excavations of fourteenth-century sites in this region regularly turn up sherds of material probably made at Paterna. Two of the most important sites where significant quantities of Paterna ware have appeared, within stratigraphic contexts which help date the ware to the fourteenth century, are at Vall Vell in Valencia city, and at Torre Bofilla, which is situated eleven kilometres north of Paterna. These sites are examined in detail as important evidence for dating Paterna ware in chapter eight. The large quantities of ceramics found in both sites, which were relatively ordinary settlements (as opposed to royal palaces or señorial sites) of both majority Christian (in Vall Vell) and majority Mudéjar (in Torre Bofilla) populations, confirm that Paterna ware was traded locally, a trade that has not been documented in the archives.

### **Valencia City**

In Valencia city, excavations undertaken by the Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal (S.I.A.M.) have uncovered many fragments of Paterna ware found in excavations at sites across the city.<sup>14</sup>

The Paterna green and brown ware which was excavated from a variety of urban contexts in the city of Valencia is held at the Centro Arqueológico Almoína, Plaza de Almoína, in Valencia. Excavations at l'Almoína itself revealed two pits filled with ceramics from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, including Paterna ware and lustre-painted ceramics. Another excavation, at the Cortes in Valencia (Calle Unión) revealed a pit filled also with Paterna ware, as well as with blue and lustre-painted ware and a large quantity of glazed cooking ware.<sup>15</sup> Valencia city would have been a major market for Paterna ware, being a large, urban centre with an increasingly

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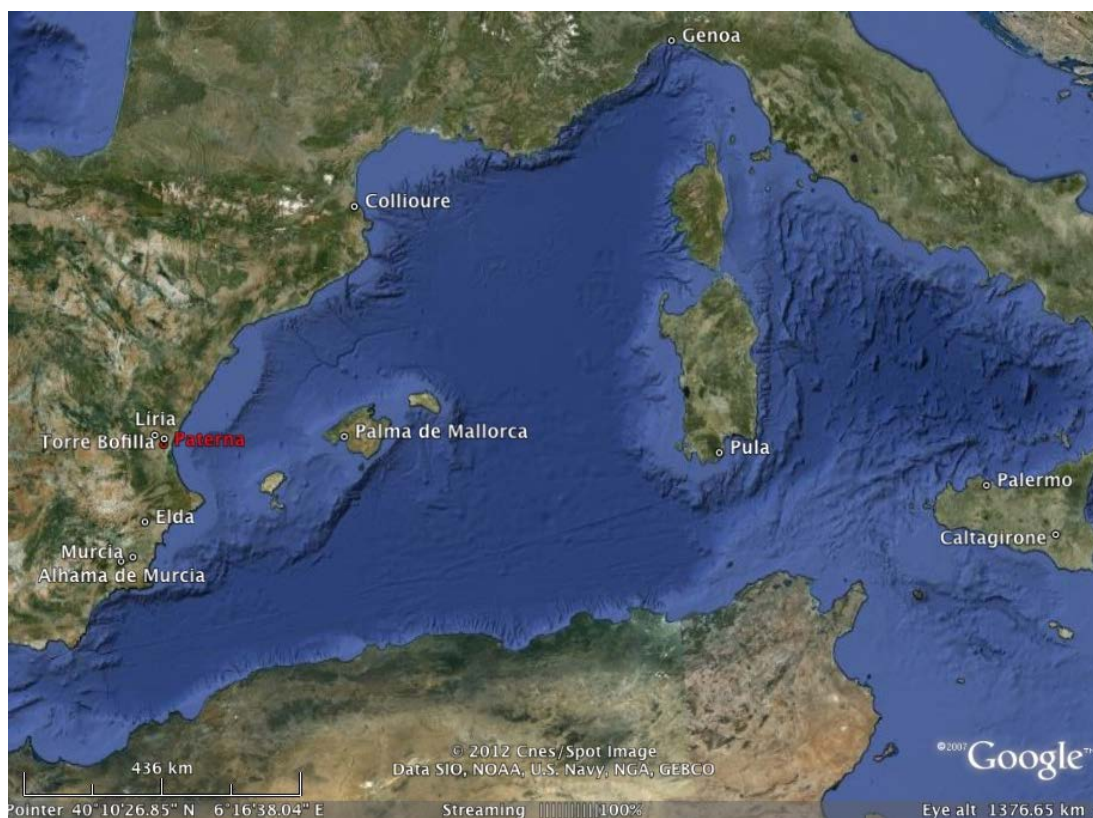
<sup>14</sup> Lerma, *La loza gótico-Mudéjar en la ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia, 1992), pp, 55-80, cat.1-40.

<sup>15</sup> For both the Almoína and the Cortes excavations see Pascual and Martí, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de la cerámica valenciana del siglo XIV', *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, 3 (Madrid, 1987) p.601.



wealthy Christian population in the early fourteenth century, for whom glazed and decorated ceramics were a luxury which was becoming more popular for use as tableware (see chapter six).

Excavations in the region of Valencia reveal that Paterna ware was widely distributed in this surrounding area. Details of some of these places where it has been found are examined below; sherds from a number of the excavations have been included in the Catalogue (Cats.397-416).<sup>16</sup> However, the appearance of Paterna ware in excavated sites outside of Valencia (see *Fig.7a*), indicates that it was also traded further afield, across eastern Spain and the western Mediterranean, in particular to the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century.



*Fig.7a* Satellite image of the western Mediterranean showing major sites where Paterna ware has been found or excavated. (From Google Earth).

<sup>16</sup> This is a small sample of instances of where Paterna ware has been found and does not aim to be a definitive list. The material is continually being turned up at archaeological investigations throughout the Iberian peninsula and beyond. At a recent conference in Venice, for example, the discovery of Paterna and Teruel ware at excavations in Castille and León was discussed. See Manuel Retuerce Velasco and Manuel Melero Serrano, 'Importaciones cerámicas de la Corona de Aragón en el reino de Castilla y León'. Paper presented at IX Congresso Internazionale AIECM2, Venice 2009 (unpublished). Similarly, in a recent personal communication with Vicent Escrivà the director of the Museu Arqueològic de Llíria, he revealed that sherds of Paterna ware also turn up in sporadic excavations in Liria (unpublished).

## Elda

Small quantities of Paterna ware have been excavated in Elda, a market town south of Paterna towards Murcia (Cats.397-99).<sup>17</sup> It was conquered by Jaume I in 1244 and suffered no expulsion of the Muslim population until 1609; it was a sizeable town with a population of around 1,200 in 1315 on the main route between the cities of Valencia and Murcia to the south (see *Fig.7a*).<sup>18</sup> It had a large Mudéjar population of around 80% of the total population in the fourteenth century. It is not surprising that ceramics of all types, including Paterna ware, have been discovered in the town, as Elda was on the main interior (not coastal) trading route between Valencia and Murcia.<sup>19</sup>

## Murcia

Three fragments of Paterna ware were found in the excavation of a large house in Murcia at Calle Fuensante, a former Islamic palace constructed in the tenth century, but which had been broken into five separate houses occupied by Mudéjars in the fourteenth century. In the house where the three fragments of Paterna ware were found, a piece of blue and white glazed ware was also found, as well as glazed undecorated cooking ware.<sup>20</sup> Paterna ware was also found at the excavation of San Nicolás in Murcia (Cat.400).<sup>21</sup>

Fragments of Paterna ware were also excavated at Alhama de Murcia, a town outside of Murcia city which was important for its natural springs and public baths. These are catalogued in the museum of Alhama as being fragments from Teruel, but given their pale clay colour and the closer proximity of Paterna than Teruel to Alhama de Murcia, it

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<sup>17</sup> Tanya Martínez Bonastre, 'Cerámica bajomedieval en Elda. El tránsito a la modernidad. Política, economía, sociedad y cultura material' (unpublished master's thesis, Universidad de Alicante, 2007).

<sup>18</sup> Martínez Bonastre, 'Elda' p.83.

<sup>19</sup> Martínez Bonastre, 'Elda'. See also Ramon Ferrer Navarro, *Cosas vedades en 1393* (Valencia, 1975) for details of trade within the kingdom of Valencia.

<sup>20</sup> Mariano Bernabé Guillamón and José Domingo López Martínez, 'Ocupación en época Mudéjar de casas islámicas en la ciudad de Murcia', in Azuar and Martí, *Sociedades en transición*, p.159.

<sup>21</sup> José Navarro Palazón, 'Los talleres islámicos de San Nicolás de Murcia', Amigues and Andre Bazzana (eds.) *Fours de potiers et 'testares' médiévaux en Méditerranée occidentale* (Madrid, 1990), pp.29-43.

is more likely that they were brought from Paterna (differences in clay fabric will be discussed in chapter six).

## **Mallorca**

Mallorca was the centre of trading activity in the fourteenth century and part of the Crown of Aragon. Commercial relations between the island of Mallorca and Valencia were close and it is not surprising that Paterna ware is commonly found in excavations of fourteenth century sites in Mallorca, particularly in the capital port city Palma de Mallorca, as well as at Bellver castle near Palma (Cats.403-10).<sup>22</sup>

There are eight pieces of Paterna ware in the Museu de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca. The provenance of two of these is unidentified, while the others come from excavations of fourteenth-century sites on the island. One was found by chance at the Castell de Bellver, just outside of Palma. Two were excavated at Santa Catalina de Sena 7 in Palma, two at Can Desbrull, Palma, and one at the old Cine Modern plot in Plaça Santa Eulàlia in Palma.<sup>23</sup> Two of these pieces are documented as having been excavated from the garden of the Palacio Episcopal in Palma. They were excavated at a level four metres deep in the garden, within a stratigraphic level that indicates that they were left there in the fourteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

## **Italy**

In Italy, Paterna ware seems to have been mostly traded with Sardinia, Sicily and Genoa, according to the excavations published to date. García Porras has speculated

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<sup>22</sup> Molera and Vendrell-Saz, 'Estudi Arqueomètric de Ceràmiques Medievalls dels Jaciments de Can Desbrull, Pont i Vich, Caputxins i Troncoso (Palma de Mallorca)', unpublished report (Barcelona, University of Barcelona). Guillermo Rosselló Bordoy, *Museo de Mallorca. Salas de arte medieval* (Madrid, 1975). Also Rosselló Bordoy, 'Mallorca: Comercio y Cerámica a lo largo de los siglos X al XIV', in Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen (ed.), *Segundo Coloquio Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo Occidental*, Toledo 1981 (Madrid, 1986) pp.193-204. Also Rosselló Bordoy and Jaume Camps Coll, 'Excavaciones arqueológicas en Palma de Mallorca. Sondeos practicados en la antigua Casa Desbrull', *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico. Arqueología*, 2 (Madrid, 1974) pp.135-168.

<sup>23</sup> Rosselló Bordoy, *Museo de Mallorca*.

<sup>24</sup> González Martí, *Cerámica del Levante Español: Loza*, pp.187-88. Figure 207.

that this may have been because tin-glazed and decorated ceramics were already made locally in other regions of Italy by the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>25</sup> in Pisa for example, where Paterna ware has not been found.<sup>26</sup>

### **Sardinia** (see Cats.414-16)

A Paterna ware bowl was among a large ceramic hoard found at Pula, in Sardinia, which was mostly made up of fourteenth-century lustreware from Valencia (*Fig.7b*).<sup>27</sup> The ceramics, which were catalogued as 58 items of which 18 were complete, had been carefully placed rather than discarded and were made up of locally-made lead-glazed earthenware and of more luxury blue and lustre-painted ware imported from Valencia.<sup>28</sup> The bowl from Paterna is decorated with a geometric motif in green and brown pigments on a tin glaze.<sup>29</sup>



*Fig.7b* Tin-glazed Paterna bowl with manganese and copper decoration, found at Pula, Sardinia. Diam.:14.2cm Height:5.8cm (From Blake, 'The ceramic hoard from Pula' p.386 no.35).

Other finds of green and brown ware have been made in Sardinia, in the cloister of the church of San Domingo in Cagliari for example as well as in various other sites on the island.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Alberto García Porras, 'La cerámica española importada en Italia durante el siglo XIV. El efecto de la demanda sobre una producción cerámica en los inicios de su despegue comercial', *Archeologia Medievale*, 27 (Florence, 2000), pp.137-141.

<sup>26</sup> Graziella Berti, 'I rapporti Pisa-Spagna (al-Andalus, Maiorca) tra la fine del X ed il XV secolo testimoniati dalle ceramiche', *Atti del Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica, Albisola 1997-1998*, 30-31 (Albisola, 1999), p.248.

<sup>27</sup> Blake, 'The ceramic hoard from Pula (prov. Cagliari) and the Pula type of Spanish lustreware', *Segundo Coloquio Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo Occidental*, Toledo 1981 (Madrid, 1986), pp.365-407. The Paterna ware bowl is no.35 pp.367 and 388.

<sup>28</sup> The material was accessioned in 1901 and is now at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Cagliari, Sardinia.

<sup>29</sup> Blake, 'Pula', p.367.

<sup>30</sup> M. Francesca Porcella and Marcella Serrelli, (eds.), *Moriscos. Echi della presenza e della cultura islamica in Sardegna* (Cagliari, 1993) p.318 fig.2. Mauro Dadea and M. Francesca Porcella, 'La diffusione della ceramica spagnola in Sardegna: importazioni e tentativi di

The great commercial expansion of the Crown of Aragon, which included the conquest of Sardinia in the 1320s, would have increased trade links between Valencia and Sardinia. However, Paterna ware was not found in nearby Pisa on mainland Italy, which also had close trade connections with Valencia at the time. This may have been because Pisa was already producing its own tin-glazed and decorated ware by the thirteenth century;<sup>31</sup> the appearance of Paterna ware in Sardinia, may be explained by the fact that there was no local glazed and decorated ceramics industry in the fourteenth century, which would have made Paterna ware an attractive product.<sup>32</sup>

## Sicily

Sicily was also made part of the Crown of Aragon in the late fourteenth century, and finds of imported ceramics which were made in the Valencia region are not uncommon.<sup>33</sup> Although these finds are mostly of lustreware, Paterna ware has also been found.<sup>34</sup> A fragment of a Paterna ware bowl was excavated at the church in San Giorgio, Caltagirone in 1971. In Palermo, a Paterna ware bowl was excavated at the Palazzo Chiaramonte-Steri (Cat.402), the residence of the noble Sicilian family of Chiaramonte until 1392 and from then until 1517 of the Sicilian viceroys. The Paterna bowl was found alongside blue and lustre-painted Paterna ware as well as lustreware from Manises. The context within which this Paterna ware was found, in an important palace from where Sicily was ruled on behalf of the Crown of Aragon, alongside imported lustreware also from Valencia, suggests that Paterna ware was considered a suitable tableware in a luxury context by the wealthy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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imitazione locale', *Transferencies i comerç de ceràmica a l'Europa mediterrànea (segles XIV-XVII)*. *XV Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals* (Palma de Mallorca, 1997) pp.215-248.

<sup>31</sup> Berti, *Pisa. Le 'maioliche arcaiche'*. *Secc. XIII-XV* (Museo Nazionale di San Matteo), (Florence, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> García Porras, 'La cerámica', p.137.

<sup>33</sup> Soler Ferrer, 'Il Commercio della ceramica nei territori della Corona d'Aragona', *Sicilia e la Corona d'Aragona. Rotte Mediterranee della Ceramica* (Valencia, 1999), pp.97-114.

<sup>34</sup> *Il Verde e il Bruno. Da Kairouan ad Avignone – Ceramiche dal X al XV Secolo*. (Caltagirone: Museo Regionale dell Ceramica 1996). Also Eduard Mira et al (eds.), *Sicilia e la Corona d'Aragona. Rotte Mediterranee della Ceramica* (Valencia, 1999), p.288 number 36.

## Genoa

Two Paterna ware bowls were found at San Silvestro in Genoa,<sup>35</sup> while fragments of Paterna ware were also found in sites across the city.<sup>36</sup> Despite the local production of glazed ceramics in Genoa by the fourteenth century, these were not decorated wares, which, according to García Porras, would have encouraged trade in the decorated Paterna ware to the city.<sup>37</sup>

## Southern France

The kingdom of Valencia had developed important trade links with southern France in the fourteenth century, and Paterna ware was also found in sites throughout the region (Cat.411). A large quantity of ceramics including sherds of Paterna ware were excavated at the site of the royal palace at Collioure, a port town on the Mediterranean coast of southern France near Perpignan. Jaume I noted the commercial importance of Collioure in a charter dated 1249.<sup>38</sup>

Paterna ware is frequently found in this western Languedoc region of southern France; however examples have been excavated further east in Provence.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> D. Andrews, D. Pringle, J. Cartledge, 'Lo scavo dell'area sud del chiostro di S. Silvestro a Genova', *Archeologia Medievale*, 5 (Florence, 1978), p.434 nos.18-19.

<sup>36</sup> Blake, 'La ceramica medievale spagnola e la Liguria', *Atti del V Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica* (Albisola, 1972), pp.61-62; 92.

<sup>37</sup> García Porras, 'La cerámica', p.137.

<sup>38</sup> Verdie, 'Collioure', pp.281-303.

<sup>39</sup> See the Paterna ware jar (lower section intact), illustrated in Gabrielle Démians D'Archimbaud and Lucy Vallauri, 'Productions et importations de céramiques médiévales dans le Midi méditerranéen français', in Vila i Carabasa (ed.) *Ceràmica medieval i postmedieval*, p.88 Fig.35. Also Amigues, *La Céramique Espagnole En Septimanie Et En Roussillon: Musée Archéologique De Narbonne, Chapelle De La Madeleine, Palais Des Archevêques, 7 Juillet-30 Septembre 1981* (Montpellier, 1981).

### **Other production sites?**

Paterna was not alone in producing tin-glazed, green and brown decorated ware in the early fourteenth century. It is known that in Teruel there was a significant industry producing very similar ceramics to those made at Paterna (see Chapter Five: Iconography). There are indications from sporadic finds that other centres, in particular Manises and Valencia, also produced this type of ware.<sup>40</sup>

### **Manises**

Manises is the most obvious example of a ceramics centre which probably produced Paterna style ceramics. The town of Manises lies just across the river Turia from Paterna. Both towns were given by Jaume I to Artal de Luna in 1237, but in 1304 Manises was sold to Pere Boïl while Paterna remained in the hands of Luna.<sup>41</sup> The first mention in the documentary evidence for the production of ceramics in Manises dates to 1304, slightly later than the 1285 date for Paterna.<sup>42</sup> Excavations undertaken by the museum of ceramics in Manises show that ceramics including some green and brown tin-glazed ware were made there from the early fourteenth century, although the scale of the industry appears to have been small compared with the lustreware industry in the town.<sup>43</sup>

The fact that a ceramics industry existed in Manises just prior to its transfer from Luna to Boil suggests that its origins in Manises were closely linked with the industry in Paterna. Analysis of the clay material used in Manises and Paterna ceramics shows that there is no clear-cut chemical distinction between contemporary ceramics produced in both towns, which is unsurprising given that both centres used clay from

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<sup>40</sup> María Paz Soler Ferrer and Josep Pérez Camps, *Historia de la Cerámica Valenciana: Islam y cerámica Mudéjar*, 2 (Valencia, 1988) p.74.

<sup>41</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.55.

<sup>42</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.49.

<sup>43</sup> Víctor Algarra Pardo and Paloma Berrocal Ruiz, 'El Taller de Cerámicas Bajomedievales de la c/Valencia, no.25, de Manises: espacios y producción', *IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, 4 (Alicante, 1994), pp.869-877. See also Coll and Pérez Camps, 'Aspectos de la técnica de fabricación en la cerámica de Manises', *IV Congreso de Arqueología*, pp.879-84.

the same areas.<sup>44</sup> By the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, Manises potters had begun to specialise in the production of lustreware.<sup>45</sup>

### Valencia city

Excavations in Valencia city indicate that not only was Paterna ware exported from the town to the city (as mentioned on p.85), but that this type of green and brown tin-glazed ware was also being made here.<sup>46</sup> In Valencia city a group of kilns were found in Calle de Sagunto in the 1950s with medieval material, which was given to the Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal before the site was destroyed, but unfortunately no photographs or plans were taken of the site.<sup>47</sup>

The excavation of an Islamic cemetery in Valencia city, just outside the city walls between the Bab al-Hanax and the Bab al-Qantara gates, revealed a significant quantity of discarded tin-glazed green and brown ceramic sherds, alongside the remains of three kilns and evidence of ceramic production at the site from the late fourteenth century.<sup>48</sup> The ceramics date from after the Christian conquest of the city in 1238, in two phases of occupation: from the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries when only ceramics and no evidence of production was found, and from the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries from when the kilns and more ceramics were also found. Green and brown style ceramics very like Paterna ware were found, as well as unglazed earthenware and some 'Pula' style blue and lustreware. Unlike the pale Paterna clay, the colour of the clay used for the ceramics made in Valencia city is a darker red colour. This is different from the clay of Paterna ware found at other sites in

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<sup>44</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, p.41. Also Hughes, 'Application of scientific analytical methods', in Gerrard *et al* (eds.), *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, p.361.

<sup>45</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.48.

<sup>46</sup> Personal communication with Josep Lerna from S.I.A.M. who suggested we should speak about an 'estilo de Paterna', a Paterna style, which would cover material made in other centres (email dated 11 September 2009).

<sup>47</sup> Soler Ferrer, *Historia*, p.74

<sup>48</sup> María Luisa Serrano Marcos, 'Transformación urbana: de cementerio islámico a centro alfarero en época cristiana (siglo XIV) en la ciudad de Valencia', in Rafael Azuar and Martí (eds.), *Actas IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval: 'Sociedades en transición'* (Alicante, 1994), pp.193-203.



Valencia and at sites including Torre Bofilla and El Vall Vell, which is clearly identifiable by its pale colour as being from the Paterna workshops.<sup>49</sup>

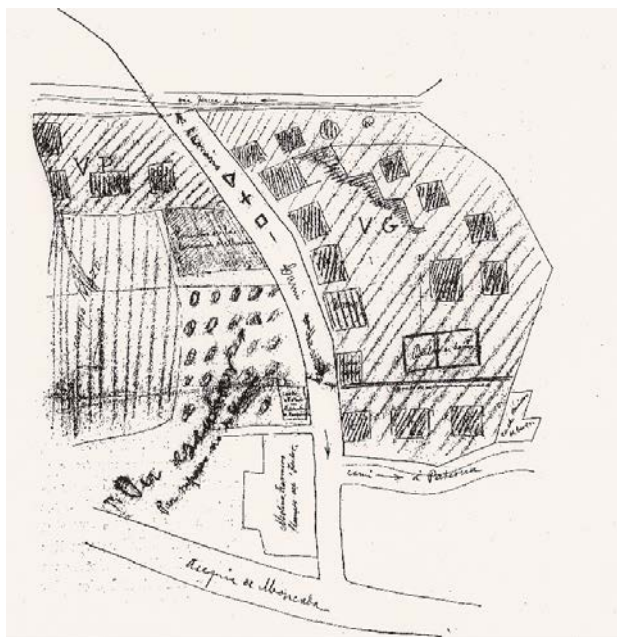
Although ceramics in the style of Paterna ware were probably made in these other centres, excavations of these sites have not been extensive and the size or longevity of other centres of production, apart from at Teruel, have not been ascertained. The excavations at Paterna have been carried out for over a century, and have revealed the existence of a significant centre of production which produced a large volume of ceramics throughout the fourteenth century. As far as is known, it is possible to tell the difference between the ceramics made at Paterna and those made in Valencia or Teruel by the clay colour (although the potters in Manises used the same clay sources so this would not apply for Manises 'Paterna' ware). For these reasons, and the fact that the large corpus of material held by the major collections of ceramics in Spain comprises Paterna ware which was excavated from the Paterna sites in the early twentieth century, rather than material from other sites, it is possible to talk about Paterna ware as a distinctive style, while acknowledging that production was not exclusive to the town.

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<sup>49</sup> Serrano Marcos, 'Transformación', p.196.

### Rediscovery of the Workshops

The sites of the workshops in Paterna were discovered by archaeologists in the early twentieth century, when finds of sherds in the area of the Molino del Testar by González Martí in 1907 drew attention to the existence of decorated and glazed ceramics production.<sup>50</sup>



*Fig.8* The sketch made by Gómez Novella of the sites excavated in the early twentieth century. This is the only visual record of the archaeological work done on the *Ollerías Mayores* site from 1907 to 1911 made by the archaeologists. (From Folch i Torres, *Noticies*, p.10.)

However, local people would no doubt have known about the ceramics in the ground at Paterna for a longer period.<sup>51</sup> The value of these ceramics was recognised before recorded excavations started in 1907; we know this for sure because in 1904 two fragments of Paterna green and brown ware were donated to the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London, by the Valencian ceramicist José Ros (Cats.418-419).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> González Martí, *Cerámica del Levante Español: Loza*, p.107.

<sup>51</sup> Even today, ceramics are near the surface of the ground at Paterna. During a visit to Paterna in June 2008 I saw potters' tools and sherds protruding from the earth while walking alongside the field of the Ollerías Mayores site. These were discarded and dated from a later period than the medieval times, but are an indication of the volume of material which came out of the site to date.

<sup>52</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, p.44.

The identity of the first person to officially discover the workshop sites is disputed. The French collector Paul Tachard claims that he was shown the site by local peasants in 1907 where he wrote in an auction catalogue when he sold his ceramics collection in 1912:

'I found, to my great surprise, that the ground was strewn with countless fragments of pottery decorated in blue and others, fewer in number, decorated in green and manganese.....A few months later, in response to my arguments, several pottery connoisseurs, notably Don Jose de Almenar, undertook the excavation of the site, which was to lead to such fruitful results'.<sup>53</sup>

However the Valencian collector González Martí claims that he discovered the same site.<sup>54</sup> He described how during a summer visit to Manises, a walk led him one day in August 1907 to cross the river Turia by the old bridge to Paterna, which passed by the Molino del Testar, where he observed sherds of ceramics in the ground.

Whatever the truth of these claims, excavations began in 1907 in Paterna with the collaboration of González Martí.<sup>55</sup> From 1908 excavations were led by José Almenar, who took responsibility for the costs of the work and the objects excavated. He was joined by Vicente Gómez Novella and subsequently by Vicente Petit who worked on neighbouring plots.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately they left no archaeological record of their work.

Martí and Pascual argue that the discovery of Paterna ware had a great impact on the local population's view of the material and the course of the archaeological investigation. Until this time it was known that lustreware ceramics which were found in many private collections were made in the area. The excavations and subsequent market for green and brown glazed ware, led to Paterna being identified as a place where previously unattributed ceramics from Valencia or the area may have been made. However, it also led to uncontrolled 'excavations' of the Paterna sites during subsequent years. These were undocumented, unscientific excavations which, Martí

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<sup>53</sup> The collection was sold at l'Hôtel Drouot on 18<sup>th</sup> March 1912. Paul Tachard, *Catalogue des Anciennes Faiences Hispano-Mauresques*, (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1912). (Quotation cited and translated in Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, pp.42-43).

<sup>54</sup> Gonzalez Marti, *Loza*, p.107.

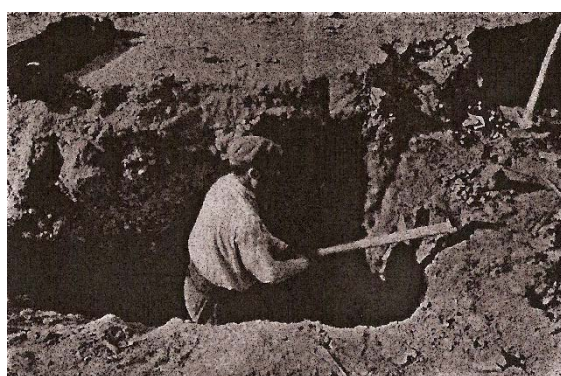
<sup>55</sup> Gonzalez Marti, *Loza*, pp.107-109.

<sup>56</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'La Investigación', p.134.

and Pascual claim, did little more than line the pockets of the excavators.<sup>57</sup> Mesquida agrees, suggesting that the interest awakened by González Martí among collectors and antiques dealers in Paterna ceramics led to the emptying of the sites by unscrupulous dealers. She notes that between 1907 and 1911 the remains of twenty kilns were destroyed in the name of archaeological excavation, the unstated object of which was to remove pieces for sale from the site.<sup>58</sup>



The first report of the excavations from 1907 to 1911 was published in 1921 by Joaquim Folch i Torres (1886-1963), director of the Museus d'Art in Barcelona from 1920 to 1939. The publication followed the acquisition of material by the Junta de Museos de Barcelona from the excavator Gómez Novella in previous years.<sup>59</sup> In the book, Folch i Torres was critical of the lack of plans, drawings or recorded observations made by the individuals who undertook the excavations.<sup>60</sup> He included a small sketch from the notebook of one of these individuals, Gómez Novella, which showed in brief which places were excavated in the area known as 'El Testar' (Fig.8).



Treballs d'excavació en un dels clots on era depositada la trencadissa ceràmica



Treball d'extracció de la trencadissa ceràmica en un dels clots



Treball d'extracció de la trencadissa ceràmica

Fig.9 Photographs of the excavation of ceramics from Paterna in the early twentieth century. (From Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, pp.8-9.)

<sup>57</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'La Investigación', p.134.

<sup>58</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.45.

<sup>59</sup> Folch i Torres, *Notícies*.

<sup>60</sup> Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, p.8.

One of the kilns was found with a quantity of undecorated and unglazed ceramics still inside it, but it was not determined by the excavators whether these were fired and ready to be decorated, or simply common ware which was never intended for decoration (there are simple typological differences between the decorated tableware and the undecorated functional ware which would indicate this distinction but which were not noted). Folch i Torres criticised the lack of documentation or photographic evidence of this possibly interesting kiln.<sup>61</sup> He also noted that the pieces excavated by Almenar were finer and more delicate than those excavated by Gómez Novella.<sup>62</sup>

He also included photographs of the excavations and notes from his own conversations with both Almenar and Gómez Novella (*fig.9*).<sup>63</sup> These were useful for trying to reconstruct the sites of some twenty or so kilns which were apparently discovered at the site, but of which almost no evidence remains. Almenar apparently indicated that they were found in the upper stratigraphic levels of the excavations, suggesting they belonged to a more recent period of Paterna's ceramic industry than the fourteenth century, but as no detailed record was made of the kiln sites, their dates remain unknown.<sup>64</sup>

The collections of Almenar and Gómez Novella were sold to the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona between 1917 and 1921, which acquired around fourteen tonnes of fragments while that of Petit (another ten tonnes of fragments)<sup>65</sup> was acquired by González Martí, eventually forming a significant part of the collection of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica 'González Martí' in Valencia.

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<sup>61</sup> Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, p.16.

<sup>62</sup> Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, p.33.

<sup>63</sup> It is not clear who took these photos which are included in Folch i Torres *Notícies*; the implication in his article is that they are excavation photographs from the Paterna site taken during the first decade of the twentieth century.

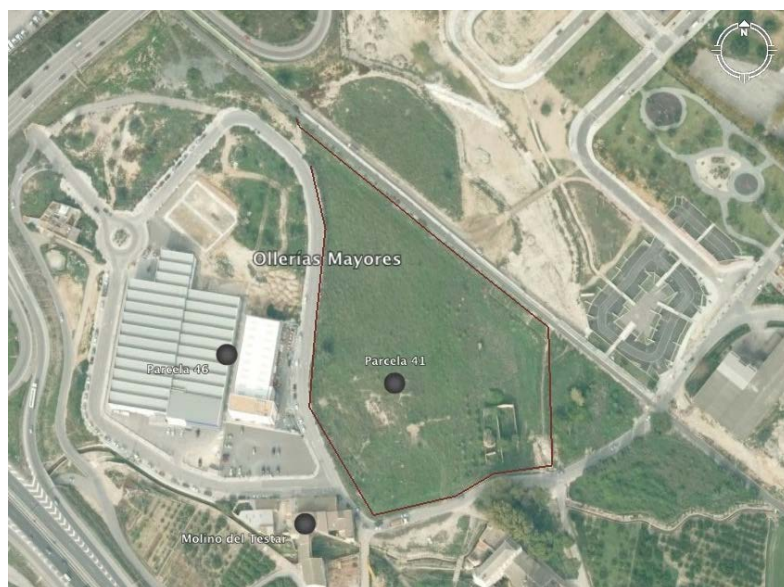
<sup>64</sup> Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, p.15.

<sup>65</sup> Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, p.10.

## Recent Excavations

### *Ollerías Mayores*

Between the first decade of the twentieth century and the 1980s, a small number of excavations took place in Paterna.<sup>66</sup> During the 1960s, the 'Fuente del Jarro' industrial estate was built in the outskirts of Paterna, near to the area where ceramics had been excavated from the *Ollerías Mayores* site. In 1968, the ground in plot number forty-six, which is adjacent to the mill (the Molino del Testar), was dug to extract sand and gravel for the construction of a curtain factory.<sup>67</sup> The mayor of Paterna, Alfonso Barberà, who was interested in the culture and history of the town, examined the ceramic sherds and pieces which appeared from the site and published them in a study of the potters' marks found on Paterna ceramics (unglazed only).<sup>68</sup>



*Fig. 10* Satellite image showing the site of the *Ollerías Mayores*, with 'Parcela' (plot) 41 outlined in red and plot 46 (now with an industrial building) and the Molino del Testar marked. (From Google Earth).

In 1982 the plot opposite the mill (plot forty-one) was dug as part of the construction of a gas pipeline. A large quantity of glazed ceramics were taken from the plot, which alerted the authorities to the potential historical importance of the site. This led to excavations funded by the Ministry of Culture that same year, which were published in

<sup>66</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'La investigación', p.137.

<sup>67</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p. 45-6.

<sup>68</sup> Alfonso Barberà, *La Cerámica Medieval*, p.85-86. A catalogue of the collection was later published by Amigues and Mesquida, *Ceràmica Medieval de Paterna en la Col·lecció Rafael Alfonso Barberà* (Paterna, 1985).



1984, by Barrachina, Carmona and Miralles.<sup>69</sup> These authors called their site 'Molí del Testar'. It has been argued that this name leads to confusion as it suggests that the mill itself is the site of excavation, rather than the field beside it; for this reason, Amigues and Mesquida argue that the excavation site should be called 'Testar del Molí' (site of discarded ceramics of the mill) for clarity.<sup>70</sup>

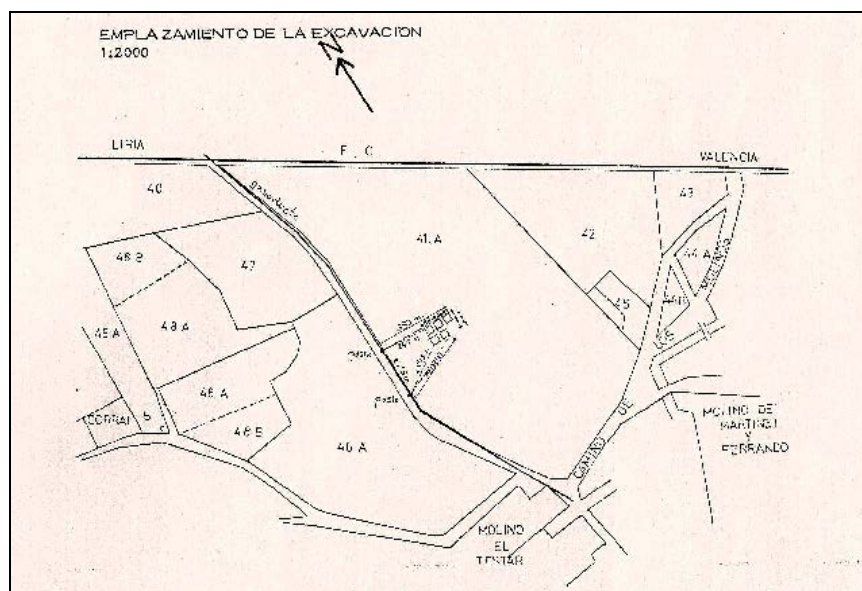


Fig.11 Map indicating where the Barrachina, Carmona and Miralles excavations took place in 1982. (From Barrachina *et al*, 'Excavaciones', p.409 Fig.1.)

By the beginning of the 1980s the establishment of Autonomous Communities in Spain gave power to regional governments, including the Region of Valencia in 1982. The Autonomous Communities were granted control over archaeological heritage which had previously been held by the State. These regional developments stimulated both a renewed interest in, and an increased economic investment in, local history and archaeology, which resulted in new archaeological investigations in the following years. This included the opening up in 1982 of archaeological investigations in Paterna, Manises and Valencia. Added to this, the practice of archaeology in Spain had developed a more rigorous methodology which emphasised the importance of

<sup>69</sup> Barrachina *et al*, 'Excavaciones', pp.405-428.

<sup>70</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, *Un horno*, p.14.

stratigraphic analysis, leading to more productive excavations and more frequent publications than in previous years.<sup>71</sup>

In 1982 the archaeologist for the Paterna town council, Mercédes Mesquida García, began a project to excavate the *Ollerías Mayores* site, funded by the Dirección General de Patrimonio de la Consellería de Cultura de la Generalitat Valenciana. A scientific collaboration was established between the Ayuntamiento de Paterna (Paterna Council) and the Casa de Velázquez in Madrid from 1985 to 1989; Mesquida and François Amigues were co-directors of the collaborative project. The first excavations took place in 1985 and subsequent excavations were undertaken in 1986-89.<sup>72</sup> From 1990 the link with Casa de Velázquez was broken, and excavations were undertaken by Mesquida as director of the Servicio Arqueológico del Ayuntamiento de Paterna until 1997.

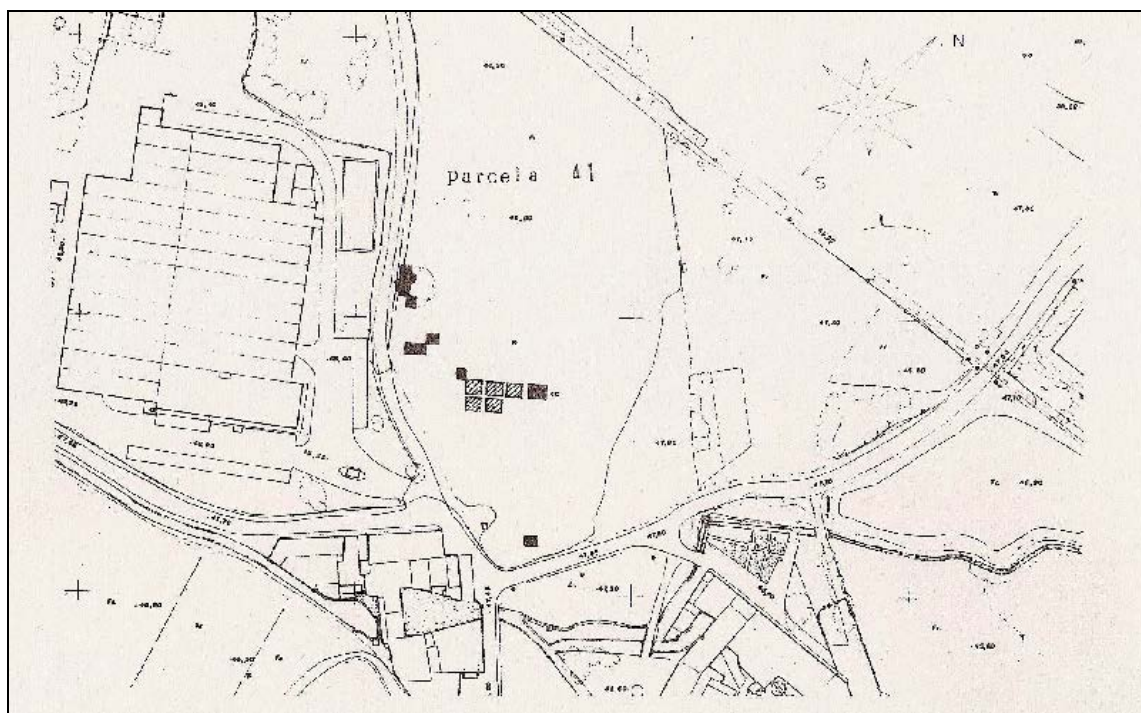


Fig.12 Map which compares where the Barrachina et al 1982 excavations took place (striped) and where the Mesquida and Amigues 1985 excavations took place (in black) at the *Ollerías Mayores* site. To the left of the 'parcela 41' field, is the industrial building which was constructed on 'parcela 46' in 1968, from where Paterna ware was also excavated in earlier campaigns. (From Amigues and Mesquida *Un horno*, p.12 Fig.2.)

<sup>71</sup> Council of Europe, 'Spain', in *Report on the Situation of Urban Archaeology in Europe*, (Strasbourg, 1999), pp.201-208.

<sup>72</sup> Amigues, *Un horno*, p.15.



One of the more important discoveries at the *Ollerías Mayores* site was that of a large updraught kiln with ceramics from the kiln, as well as discarded ceramics dating from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.<sup>73</sup> The kiln was excavated in an area which had been covered by a small building during the excavations in the first decade of the twentieth century, which meant the area had not been touched at this time.

The kiln was 4.4 metres long, by two metres wide and two metres deep; only the lower two chambers survived (the *sagen* and the combustion chamber), the chamber which was above ground, where most of the ceramics were placed, did not survive. Some support structures which separated the upper and lower levels did however survive and indicate that the kiln was a typical Arab updraught kiln, with a double chamber, like those used in Islamic Valencia.<sup>74</sup> The ceramics found here were mostly unglazed earthenware, with a small amount of lead-glazed ware, blue and white ware and Paterna ware.<sup>75</sup>

### ***Ollerías Menores***

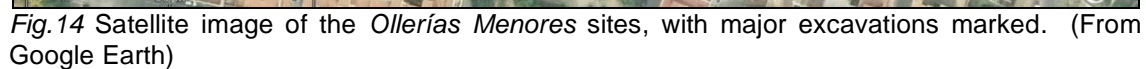
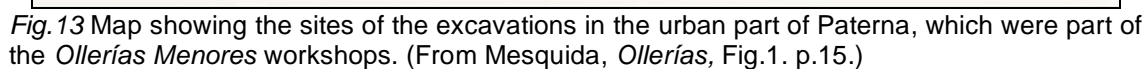
The pace of excavations at the *Ollerías Menores* in Paterna has been determined by the progress of construction in the urban area. The expansion of the urban area of Paterna in the late nineteenth century has meant that many of the potential archaeological sites remain inaccessible until a building is pulled down or a new area is zoned for construction. In the Valencia region, the cost of archaeological investigation of a private site is met by the promoters of the construction project, which can create tensions between the time-consuming demands of an archaeological excavation and the economic pressures of time on the promotor of a construction. While the *Ollerías Mayores* sites have been declared cultural patrimony which cannot be built on but are preserved in perpetuity, the excavation sites within the urban part of Paterna, the *Ollerías Menores*, have mostly been covered by buildings as soon as the excavation

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<sup>73</sup> Amigues, *Un horno*, p. 20.

<sup>74</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.42.

<sup>75</sup> Amigues, *Un horno*, p.38.



<sup>76</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.87-121.

contemporary with the *Ollerías Mayores*, and the type of pottery produced in both sites was the same, including green and brown tin-glazed ware.

The identification of the workshop sites in Paterna, including kilns, waster piles of discarded ceramics, and tools, confirmed that Paterna was a place of ceramic *production* in the medieval period; chemical analysis of the material which was published also confirmed the geographical attribution to the Valencia region.<sup>77</sup>

Following her retirement, Mesquida was replaced by the current director, Ernesto Manzanedo Llorente. A new campaign of excavations at the *Ollerías Mayores* site is planned, with the intention of discovering the outer boundaries of the workshops and of uncovering material and structural evidence that might have been missed in the twentieth century excavations.<sup>78</sup> The nineteenth century building of the Molino del Testar (*Fig.15*), is being restored and developed, possibly to be incorporated as part of the Ceramics Museum of Paterna.



*Fig. 15* Molino del Testar, Paterna (Photograph taken in 2008).

<sup>77</sup> Judit Molera *et al*, 'Tecnología cerámica' in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.235-61. A joint research project among the Dept. Cristal·lografia, Mineralogia i Dipòsits Minerals, Universitat de Barcelona, the Escola Superior d'Agricultura de Barcelona ESAB, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya and the Museu Municipal de Cèramica de Paterna.

<sup>78</sup> Personal communication with the conservator, 8 October 2009.

### **Collections of Paterna ware**

This section outlines the various collections where Paterna ware can be found. The largest collections are in museums in Paterna, Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid, while smaller collections and unique pieces are held in various private and public institutions.<sup>79</sup> The vast majority of Paterna ware, including almost all of the pieces at the major museums in Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid, was bought from or donated by private collectors, many of whom had been involved in the excavation of the ceramics from Paterna in the early twentieth century, while the material at the Paterna museum is mostly from more recent excavations in the town.

It is very likely that there are many pieces of Paterna ware that are in the possession of private individuals today and therefore are not available to the public. The conservator at the Museu de Ceràmica in Paterna assured me that many families in Paterna possess individual pieces of the ware, the provenances of which are unclear but which probably had been found on their land or had been in their families for generations. The former mayor of Paterna, Alfonso Barberà, had his own significant collection of green and brown ware including potters' tools, a collection that was dispersed among his descendants after his death and the whereabouts of which are now not known.

Many of the pieces that entered into the museum collections were sherds, which were repaired and restored during the twentieth century. The quality of these repairs varies. Missing pieces were remade using plaster, which has tended to dry out over time and to crumble when exposed to handling. The replaced sections in plaster were then painted by conservators to fill in the blank spaces. In the mid-twentieth century this

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<sup>79</sup> The four largest collections of Paterna ware are listed first, with the Museu Municipal de Ceràmica in Paterna first as it is still collecting material, followed by the three other collections in chronological order of when their Paterna ware was first collected. These four are followed by the smaller collections of Paterna ware.

repainting tended to be rather crude, and led on some occasions to a rather liberal or imaginative interpretation of an image.<sup>80</sup>

Recent restoration programmes have been more sensitive to the material however. The methodology of the conservation and restoration process used at the ceramics museum in Valencia involves making the restored and original pieces blend seamlessly on first glance, but making it clear on inspection which parts are the original. For this, they use a *rigattino* technique, which involves colouring the motifs on the replaced sections with thin lines and profiles. The objective of the conservation and restoration at the museum in Valencia, is both to conserve the work for possible future analysis, and to make the original work legible as a coherent piece.<sup>81</sup>

The sections that have been replaced or repainted are noted for the first time in the Catalogue and are visible in the reverse images of the ceramics. The pieces in the Madrid and Paterna collections show the least number of repairs.

### **Paterna: Museu Municipal de Ceràmica**

The collection at the museum of ceramics in Paterna comprises material from the late twentieth century archaeological excavations in Paterna, supervised by Mesquida García until 2007 and now by Ernesto Manzanedo Llorente.

Although some pieces have been restored and repainted for display, and continue to be restored, many are also left in their original sherd state.

Paterna ware is included in a display across a number of small exhibition rooms at the Museum which incorporate all the periods of production including the Roman era, and the different types of ceramics excavated at Paterna, including earthenware containers, cooking ware, blue and white glazed ware, lustreware and lustre-painted and cobalt

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<sup>80</sup> For the mid-twentieth century restoration programme in the Museum in Valencia, see Coll (ed.), *50 años (1954-2004). Museo Nacional de Cerámica en el Palacio de Dos Aguas* (Valencia, 2004) pp.342-43.

<sup>81</sup> T. Valtueña Martínez in Coll (ed.), *50 años*, pp.354-357.

blue ware. There is also a reconstruction of an updraught kiln of the type used in fourteenth century Paterna.

The material that is excavated from sites in Paterna (from the 1980s to today) is brought to the Museum. Here it is washed and sorted into piles according to decorative type. Some pieces are restored where possible. Other interesting fragments are retained in boxes relating to the excavation in the two storage rooms beneath the Museum. Finally, the rest of the volume of the excavation, undecorated fragments, is reburied by the town council as landfill. Due to the fragmentary nature of the material, it is very difficult to estimate the size of the collection at the Museum, but it is likely to be at least equal to the c.14 tonnes of Paterna ware held by the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona.

The archaeological activities undertaken by this Museum are of vital importance to the study of Paterna ware. It is through the late twentieth century excavations of the sites that the scale, techniques and variety of material made at Paterna were clarified and published; further excavations (mentioned above) and research at the Museum may reveal more about the extent of the workshops and their chronologies.



*Fig. 16* Mercèdes Mesquida García and the conservator at the Museu Municipal de Ceràmica in Paterna, examining sherds that have been washed and sorted from a recent excavation.





*Fig. 17* The conservator's desk at the Museu Municipal de Ceràmica in Paterna, where ceramics are repainted as part of the conservation programme.



*Fig. 18* Boxes of sherds from a recent excavation in Paterna, sorted and washed and awaiting further research at the Museu Municipal de Ceràmica in Paterna.

### **Valencia: Museo Nacional de Cerámica y Artes Suntuarias ‘González Martí’**

The national museum of ceramics in Valencia was established in 1947 following the donation of the ceramics collection of González Martí to the Spanish state. It is the largest collection of ceramics in Spain, which includes the largest collection of Paterna ware in the country.<sup>82</sup>

The entire ceramics collection was initially held in the house of the founder and future director of the museum, Manuel Gonzalez Martí (1877-1972). This was in Calle del

<sup>82</sup> In terms of volume of material the Paterna museum probably has a larger collection, but there are more complete, restored pieces of Paterna ware at the Valencia museum than anywhere else.

Temple, Number 7, in Palacete Barberá in Valencia, which was effectively the museum of ceramics for Valencia in the 1920s and 1930s.

The collection is now housed in the Palacio de Dos Aguas, Valencia, which was purchased in 1949, two years after the museum was inaugurated in 1947. Three adjacent buildings were acquired by the museum between 1961 and 1971. The Palacio de Dos Aguas was restored after it was purchased in 1949 and the ceramics went on display for the first time in 1954, together with items of furniture from the palace.

The ceramics collection expanded greatly over subsequent years – in 1972 when the founder died, there were over 12,000 items and nearly 800 donations registered (including but not restricted to Paterna ware). The building needed further restoration work, and facilities such as storage areas, library or workshops were lacking in the old building. It was restored in recent years with the aim of revealing the main spaces of the palace as well as providing necessary services for the demands of the large collection.



*Fig. 19* Portrait of Manuel González Martí, as president of the Valencian cultural association *Lo Rat-Penat*. (From [www.loratpenat.org](http://www.loratpenat.org)).





Fig.20 Left: González Martí , c.1947 at the newly opened Museo Nacional de Cerámica in Valencia. (Photograph © Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia.)

Fig.21 Right: Publicity image from the 1908 exhibition *Lo Rat-Penat* in Valencia. (From *La Edad de Oro*, Illus.33.)

González Martí exhibited seven bowls of green and brown Paterna ware at an exhibition held by *Lo Rat-Penat* in 1908.<sup>83</sup> He collaborated in the excavations of José Almenar, Vicente Gómez Novella and Vicente Petit at the *Ollerías Mayores*. The collections of Novella and Almenar would later end up in the Museum in Barcelona, González Martí himself subsequently acquired Petit's collection in 1933.<sup>84</sup>

By 1909 González Martí had acquired a considerable collection of ceramics, some of which he lent to the *Exposición Regional Valenciana* in 1909, including lustreware, blue and white ware and green and brown ware, and subsequently to the *Exposición Nacional* in 1910.

<sup>83</sup> See Coll entry no.83 p.255 in Fernando Benito Domenech and José Gómez Frechina (eds.), *La Edad de Oro del Arte Valenciano. Rememoración de un centenario* (Valencia, 2009).

<sup>84</sup> Coll, 'Manuel González Martí (1877-1972) fundador del Museo Nacional de Cerámica', *Museus.es: Revista de la Subdirección General de Museos Estatales*, 1 (Madrid, 2005) pp.170-81.



Fig.22 Photograph of a display of the collection of González Martí in the 'Exposición Regional Valenciana' of 1909. (Photograph © Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia.)

González Martí first published his research into ceramics in another volume of *Impresiones*, the journal of Lo Rat-Penat in 1912.<sup>85</sup> He travelled to southern France, Sicily, Sardinia and Naples on various scholarships between 1913 and 1932 researching ceramics. This research culminated in the publishing of what became the definitive book on the subject of Spanish ceramics, *Cerámica Española* in 1933, followed by volumes two and three, *Cerámica del Levante Español, Siglos Medievales* in 1944 and 1952. He continued to publish studies and notes on ceramics until his death in 1972. His collection was held at the Palacete Barberá in the Calle del Temple, Valencia, until 1947 when the communist station Radio Puerto installed itself in his residence; the collection was rescued by the 'servicio de defensa del patrimonio artístico' (the 'artistic patrimony defense service') organised by Josep Renau, but not before an unknown number of ceramics had disappeared from the collection.<sup>86</sup>

His collection is not accompanied by an original inventory list of objects, but an important photographic record exists on glass plates, which documents the

<sup>85</sup> *Impresiones. Arte y Artistas*, 1 (Valencia, 1912).

<sup>86</sup> Coll in *La Edad de Oro*, no.82 p.252.

donations.<sup>87</sup> The collector himself stated that he left some six thousand ceramics as well as his library, display cabinets and furniture, to the state.<sup>88</sup>

Apart from the private donation of the collection of González Martí, the museum also contains material that was acquired from excavations taking place in the Valencia area. In 1947 the Municipal Council of Valencia, through the local excavations commission, began to purchase and collect through donations, the ceramics that were excavated from construction sites in the city. This material, which was mostly ceramic fragments of plates and other pieces, passed to the archives of the Museo Histórico Municipal and the council established a laboratory where the fragments were washed, catalogued and studied.<sup>89</sup>



Fig.23 The official visit to the opening of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica in Valencia, 1947, with González Martí standing third from the right in the front row. (Photograph © Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia.)

In 1949 the Council bought a collection of around three thousand fragments of glazed ceramics that had been excavated in Manises by the ceramicist Francisco Mora

<sup>87</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.180.

<sup>88</sup> Coll, *Museus.es*. Also H. Tio, 'Mas de seis mil piezas de cerámica en el Palacio de Dos Aguas' in *Arriba*, 10 March 1955.

<sup>89</sup> José Martínez Ortiz and Jaime Scals Aracil, *Colección cerámica del Museo Histórico Municipal de Valencia: ciclo Paterna-Manises* (Valencia, 1962) p.11.

Gallego. Much of this was blue and lustre-painted ware but it included some important pieces of Paterna ware. In the same year, some of the collection of Almenar, who was one of those who excavated at Paterna in 1907, became available. Although most of his collection ended up in the Junta de Museos de Barcelona (now in the Museo de Cerámica de Barcelona), a considerable number of pieces were offered to the Valencia museum by his descendants Jose Romero Almenar and Vicente Romero Almenar. This included 384 restored pieces and 221 pieces to be restored of Paterna ware, sixty restored and 195 for restoration of blue and white ware, and twenty boxes of diverse fragments. This was bought by the Municipal council for 400,000 pesetas on 16 November 1959 and considerably added to the size of the collection.<sup>90</sup>



*Fig.24* Photograph showing a large Paterna ware bowl held by ceramicist and restorer Jaime de Scals Aracil with restored vessels in the background from the Collection of the Ayuntamiento de Valencia at the Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia. (Photograph © Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia.)

Today, the ceramics collection comprises a total of 1,265 pieces of glazed and unglazed ceramics from the Valencia region, of which 682 pieces are Paterna ware.<sup>91</sup> The majority are stored in the basement level of the museum stacked in glass display cabinets. A representative selection is permanently displayed in the public galleries, as part of a comprehensive exhibited collection of ceramics from across the periods of ceramic production in the kingdom of Valencia.

<sup>90</sup> Ortiz and Scals, *Colección cerámica*, pp.12-13.

<sup>91</sup> Ortiz and Scals, *Colección cerámica*, pp.15-17.





Fig.25 Paterna ware in storage in the basement at the Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia.

### **Barcelona: Museu de Ceràmica**

The origins of the museum lie in its formation as the 'Museo Provincial de Antigüedades' (the provincial museum of antiquities), which was founded in 1879 by the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1932 most of this collection was transferred to the Palacio de Pedralbes, as part of the Museo de Artes Decorativas; the palace was formerly used by the Spanish royal family as their Barcelona residence. However, the collection of Spanish ceramics was first moved to the Museo de Arte de Cataluña where it was mostly placed in storage. In 1942 some of the ceramics were exhibited in the exhibition 'Cerámica Española' at the Museo de Artes Decorativas, while in 1957 part of the ceramics collection was exhibited in the Museo de Arte Moderno exhibition 'Cerámica decorada de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona desde el s. XIII hasta nuestros días.' The ceramics returned to the Palacio Nacional in 1962 where they stayed until they were transferred to the Palacio de Pedralbes in 1990, when the holdings of the Museo Nacional de Cataluña were transferred to the palace.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Trinidad Sánchez-Pacheco, 'El Museo de Cerámica' in Sánchez-Pacheco and María Dolors Giral and María-Antonia Casanovas (eds.) *Museo de Cerámica. Palacio de Pedralbes Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1993), p.9.

The ceramics collection, which comprises a mix of donations and pieces bought from collectors and antiques dealers, began in 1883 with pieces from Catalonia, Alcora and Ribesalbes, followed in 1895 with the inclusion of pieces from Talavera and Manises.

The acquisition of the Paterna ceramics by the museum of ceramics in Barcelona is documented in the museum archives. In 1917 the Board of Barcelona Museums (Junta de Museus de Barcelona) acquired for the Museu d'Art Decoratiu i Arqueològic a collection of seventy ceramic bowls from Manises, Teruel and Paterna from Gaspar Homar, who was involved with the first excavations at the site of the *Ollerías Mayores* from 1907 to 1911.<sup>93</sup> From the same dealer in 1918 they acquired fifteen pieces of ceramic from Paterna.<sup>94</sup>

In 1921 the Junta de Museos acquired twelve tonnes of fragments from Paterna from the Valencian antiquaries dealer, José Almenar, who was also involved in the excavations at Paterna from 1907 to 1911.<sup>95</sup> A large number of pieces were also acquired from Gómez Novella from his excavations at Paterna in 1910.<sup>96</sup>

On 25 March 1922, an exhibition was inaugurated in the Museu de la Ciutadella in Barcelona which displayed the acquisitions made by the museum of Barcelona in the three years between 1919 and 1922.<sup>97</sup> The second room of the exhibition was dedicated to the acquisitions of medieval art, which included the ceramics from Paterna.

A workshop for the restoration of the ceramics was set up in the museum. The photographs of this process, which date from 1924 to 1928, show the large number of

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<sup>93</sup> Maria Josep Boronat i Trill, *La Política d'Adquisicions de la Junta de Museus 1890-1923*. (Barcelona, 1999), p.248.

<sup>94</sup> Boronat i Trill, *La Política*, p.901 Bought from G. Homar, 'Lot de 70 bols de ceràmica' on 11/08/1917. Entry page 381, 'De D. Gaspar Homar, Quince exemplars de ceràmica de Paterna' and p.902 'Colección de cerámica de Paterna' on 5/10/1918.

<sup>95</sup> Sanchez-Pacheco, *Museo*, p.9.

<sup>96</sup> Boronat i Trill, *La Política*, p.904. The entry for the 21<sup>st</sup> January 1921 notes 'Col. De ceràmica de Paterna' bought from Almenar, and 'Col. De ceràmica de Manises' on the same date from Novella. However, the card index at the Museum of Ceramics in Barcelona lists the inventory numbers of ceramics bought from Novella which it specifies were from the excavations at Paterna in 1910.

<sup>97</sup> Boronat i Trill, *La Política*, p.591.

boxes of sherds, which were sorted into shelves, and subsequently used to restore individual pieces of ceramics.

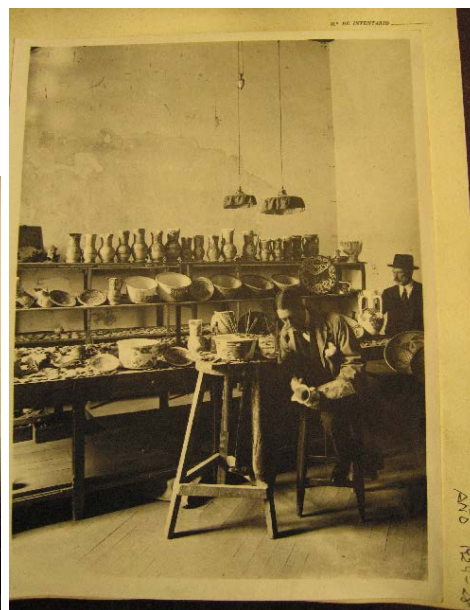


*Fig.26* Photograph, dated 1924-1928, of boxes of ceramic sherds at the Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona. (Photograph © Archivo de Clichés Fotográficos, Museos de Arte de Barcelona.)



*Figs.27* (left) and *28* (right). Sherds laid out for restoration (above left) and restored vessels (above right), at the Museu de Ceràmica (then the Museu de Arte de Barcelona), Barcelona. 1924-1928. (Photographs © Archivo de Clichés Fotográficos, Museos de Arte de Barcelona.)





*Figs.29 (left) and 30 (right). Paterna ware is studied (above left) and painted (above right) in the restoration workshops at Barcelona. Restored Paterna ware is visible on the shelves behind. 1924-1928. (Photograph © Archivo de Clichés Fotográficos, Museos de Arte de Barcelona.)*

Of the c.fourteen tonnes of Paterna ceramics acquired by the Museum, 848 pieces were restored. Seventeen of these are exhibited in the permanent collection and 831 are held in storage. There are also boxes of fragmentary sherds in the basement but these are not accessible at the moment due to building works, while some fragments were discarded with the transfer of the collection to the Palacio Pedralbes in 1990.<sup>98</sup>



*Fig.31 A view of Paterna ware in storage at the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona.*

<sup>98</sup> These figures are from my examination of the material in Barcelona and personal communication with Dr. Casanovas.



**Madrid: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan**

The Instituto Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid was founded by Guillermo Joaquín de Osma y Scull (1853-1922) in 1916 to house his large personal collection of art.

De Osma was born in Havana, the son of Juan Ignacio de Osma and Emilia Scull y Audouin. At a young age he returned to Spain, subsequently studying science and letters at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the University of Oxford. He pursued a diplomatic and political career in the Spanish government. It was his marriage to Adelaida Crooke y Guzmán, daughter of the Counts of Valencia de Don Juan, which began his lifelong interest in collecting art. Her father Don Juan Bautista Crooke, was a noted archaeologist, passionately interested in the collection of art that his wife had inherited. This collection mostly consisted of paintings and manuscripts; when Adelaida's parents inherited it, they began to add decorative arts, particularly textiles and carpets.

When Adelaida and her husband de Osma, inherited the collection from her parents, they added to this important collection of Spanish paintings and decorative arts, particularly focusing on glazed and lustre-painted ceramics, ivories and bronzes.



*Fig.32* Facade of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.

As they had no descendants, Adelaida and de Osma decided to form a foundation, which would keep the collection together in Spain for posterity. They built a small palace in Madrid between 1914 and 1916 in the Hispano-Moresque style, at its present location in Calle Fortuny.

In 1916, de Osma left a list of conditions in the archives of the Institute, which laid out the intended purpose and function of the foundation. He was disgusted at the 'spit, cigarette butts and mud'(!) brought in by the visitors to the national archaeological museum in Madrid, which led him to determine that his Institute would be open only to scholars and interested parties, not the general public. He stipulated in a clause in the document that if his wishes were not observed for the running of the Institute, the entire collection would be transferred to the University of Oxford. During the Civil War in Spain, a British flag was displayed over the roof tiles, which apparently saved the building from bomb damage!<sup>99</sup>

The ceramics in the collection were collected by de Osma in the early twentieth century. He developed a deep academic knowledge of ceramics, publishing the earliest scholarly works on the Valencian ceramics in 1906, which was reissued in 1923.<sup>100</sup> He particularly collected lustre-painted ceramics from Manises, managing to create the most extensive collection in Spain of this type of ceramic.<sup>101</sup> He also began to acquire a small but high quality group of tin-glazed green and brown ware from Paterna. This collection of Paterna ware (of which many pieces were bought for the Institute after de Osma's death in 1922) is important as most of the pieces are in excellent condition and have not been subjected to much repair or repainting.

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<sup>99</sup> José Luis Barrio Moya, 'Un Coleccionista Atípico: Don Guillermo Joaquín de Osma', *Goya: Revista de Arte*, 267:11 (Madrid, 1998), pp.364-374.

<sup>100</sup> De Osma, *Apuntes*.

<sup>101</sup> Coll, 'Manuel González Martí', p.180.

The original handwritten book of acquisitions is available to study at the Institute, which documents many of the purchases made by the founders. Most of the Paterna pieces were acquired between 1926 and 1936, from Apolinar Sánchez Villalba, a collector from the 1920s and 1930s in Spain from whom de Osma had also bought Manises lustre-painted ware and Islamic carved ivory pieces. Sánchez Villalba may have bought the ceramics on the open market, as the reputation of Paterna ware began to grow following their inclusion in the aforementioned exhibition of recently acquired medieval art at the Barcelona Museum in 1922 and their publication in Folch i Torres' 1921 article.<sup>102</sup>

It is interesting to note the contemporary price of Paterna ware when compared with other ceramic pieces. The famous lustre-painted 'Alhambra vase' at the Institute was bought for 80,000 pesetas in 1926, when one year later 18 pieces of Paterna ware were bought for 5,500 pesetas, at almost one fifteenth of the price.

### **Barcelona: Colección Godia (El Conventet and Fundación Godia)**

There are thirty-four pieces of Paterna ware in the Godia collection, a private collection that is now split between two inheritors and divided between two sites, both in Barcelona. Seventeen pieces are now held in the Fundación Godia, while the other seventeen, which were in 'El Conventet', are now in private hands.<sup>103</sup>

The ceramics were part of a private collection of art, which also included painting and medieval sculpture, belonging to Francisco Godia Sales (1921–1990). He was a businessman, art collector and racing car driver from Barcelona who competed in

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<sup>102</sup> Folch i Torres, *Noticies*.

<sup>103</sup> The medieval and modern art collection of Francisco Godia was held at El Conventet, a building which was previously part of the monastery of Santa María de Pedralbes in Barcelona and was converted into the private residence of Francisco Godia in the early twentieth century. In 1999 the Fundación Godia was created and a new museum was built to house the collection in Barcelona, inaugurated in 2008. Half of the Paterna green and brown ware was moved to the new Foundation, but the other half, seventeen pieces, remained in private hands and are not now publicly available. All thirty-four pieces from both collections are published with small black and white images in Luis Monreal Agustí, *El Conventet* (Barcelona, 1974) (no page numbers).

Formula One World Championship racing. The Fundación Godia was established in 1999 by his daughter Liliana Godia, to display his collection in Barcelona.

### **Paterna: Private (now dispersed) collection of Rafael Alfonso Barberà**

This collection of Paterna ceramics included unglazed earthenware and blue and lustre-painted ware and Paterna ware; it comprised around 350 pieces of ceramics excavated from the *Ollerías Mayores* site. A catalogue of the collection, which included photographs of eighteen pieces of Paterna ware, was published in 1985 before it was dispersed among the descendants of the collector.<sup>104</sup>

### **London: Victoria and Albert Museum**

There are five pieces of Paterna ware in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>105</sup> Two of these were donated by José Ros in 1904, three years before the 'discovery' of the ceramics site in Paterna. The donor was the founder of the pottery 'La Ceramo' in 1885 (in Benicalap, on the outskirts of Valencia city) where 'Hispano-Moresque' style ceramics were made until the twentieth century.<sup>106</sup>

The Paterna pieces that are in the V&A Museum collection are included in the Catalogue (Cats.417-21).

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<sup>104</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, *Col.leció Rafael Alfonso Barberà*.

<sup>105</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, pp.41-44.

<sup>106</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, pp.43-4.



Fig.33 The plaque over the entrance to the now derelict ceramics workshops in Valencia, which reads 'La Ceramo. Fabrica de Mayolicas. Jose Ros'.

### **Burrell Collection**

The Burrell Collection in Glasgow has a small, tin-glazed ceramic bowl, which it has catalogued as Paterna ware (Inv.no.40.23). It also appears on the *Museum With No Frontiers* website ([www.mwnf.org](http://www.mwnf.org)), a collaborative online museum, where it is identified as Paterna ware. However the dark red colour of the clay and the dark colour of the green pigment suggest that it is more likely to have been made in Teruel or possibly Valencia. Olivar Daydí illustrated the piece in 1952, when the bowl was for sale as formerly part of the Beit collection, and he lists it as being probably from Teruel.<sup>107</sup>

### **Conclusions**

Most of the Paterna ware that is held by museum collections today was excavated at the site of production in the Paterna workshops. The volume of Paterna ware in these collections (if one includes the boxes of unrepaired sherds held in the Barcelona and Paterna museums, this is measured in tonnes of ceramics rather than individual pieces), is itself an indication of the large size and importance of the workshops in the early fourteenth century.

<sup>107</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La Cerámica*, Plate 75 Fig.134.

However, the places where Paterna ware has been found outside of these workshops can be used to suggest patterns of consumption and social function. The distribution of finds within the local area of Valencia and Aragon indicates that consumption was mostly by local Christian and Muslim communities.<sup>108</sup> The fact that Paterna ware appears in excavations of both majority Christian settlements (at Vall Vell in Valencia for example) and majority Muslim settlements (at Torre Bofilla for example), indicates that its distribution was not restricted to one social group in Valencia. While specific context is sometimes difficult to determine, it seems to be found mostly in domestic, semi-urban (town) contexts. These relatively ordinary domestic contexts suggest that it was not a luxury ware that was reserved for the nobility; at the same time, the very small quantities of glazed ware as compared with unglazed ware in these sites (see Torre Bofilla in chapter eight for example), indicate that Paterna ware was not the everyday tableware within these settings.

The excavation of individual pieces of Paterna ware at Palazzo Chiaramonte in Palermo, Sicily (Cat.402), at the Castell de Bellver in Palma de Mallorca (Cat.410) and from an underwater excavation in Sardinia (Cat.416) tell us that in some contexts it was valued enough to have been sent overseas and consumed in more noble settings. The find of a Paterna bowl alongside blue and lustre-painted Valencian ware at Pula in Sardinia, among a cache of luxury ceramics that were hidden rather than discarded in the fourteenth century, confirms that in some contexts Paterna ware could also be considered a kind of luxury ware.

These patterns of consumption, as well as the possibility of a small export industry in Paterna ware and the role played by French textile merchants in relation to the trade and consumption of the ceramics, will be explored further in Chapter Six.

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<sup>108</sup> See the evidence of where finds were made in Chapter Five (particularly 'Valencia city' and Chapter Eight (Torre Bofilla), which indicates a distribution in both wholly Christian and wholly Muslim sites.

## **Chapter Six**

### **TYPOLOGIES AND CONSUMPTION**

The description in Chapter Five of places where Paterna ware was excavated and where finds have been made, also provides vital information that can help to identify how this ware was used and by whom. However, these patterns of consumption are closely tied in to the types of ceramics made – the typologies - and their practical functions. In order to talk about the consumption of Paterna ware, it is important first to describe their basic shapes and types.

It is clear from this typological analysis that Paterna potters introduced new forms, which had not been common in pre-conquest ceramics from the region, while abandoning other forms that had been common up to the Almohad period. Identifying which shapes continued and which ones were lost can tell us more about the kind of market the Paterna potters were working for. This was a glazed ceramics industry that began *after* the conquests in the thirteenth century, so it is not surprising that there is evidence of influence on the Paterna ware typologies which might be attributed to the new social conditions described in Chapter Three. Indeed, this new influence could have been due to new fashions in glazed tableware and the impact of wooden and metal tableware during the fourteenth century.

This chapter takes a close look at the forms and function of the ceramics, examines the relationship with pre-conquest ceramic typologies and suggests how they might have been used and by whom. The typologies of Paterna ware in the Catalogue are described and illustrated with profile drawings and photographs of typical examples. The theory that matching ‘sets’ of Paterna ware were made is discussed. The relationship with pre-conquest typologies is an important one, which is outlined in the

summary of discontinued and new typologies, before possible reasons for these changes are suggested.

Other types of ceramics were also made in contemporary Paterna for different functions – mostly unglazed earthenware and glazed cooking ware – and these are also outlined in this chapter. A wider production of everyday, useful ware is to be expected in a site where glazed pottery was also made, and this diversity of material, produced probably by the same potters and contemporaneously with the glazed ware, is commonly found in pottery production sites.

### **Typologies**

The vast majority of surviving Paterna ware is represented by open forms – plates and bowls. The ceramic forms which have survived, including plates and bowls, jugs, and basins as well as some *albarelli* and lamps, indicate that Paterna ware was made as tableware, for the display and consumption of food in a domestic context. This function is suggested by the finds in domestic archaeological contexts, which are summarised in Chapter Five as well as in Chapter Eight (under Torre Bofila), which show that Paterna ware was found in small quantities alongside other, less decorated ceramic vessels. However, it is not known exactly how it was used – as an everyday ware, or on special occasions, or simply for display of food and not its consumption. Paterna ware is relatively thickly potted; it must be noted that Paterna ware is primarily distinguished by the skill and attraction evident in its decoration, rather than by fine potting.

Typological classifications of Paterna ware have been published by archaeologists involved in its excavation and analysis. In a detailed analysis, Lerma *et al*/classified the typologies of a corpus of Paterna ware drawn from a number of archaeological



collections in Valencia and Paterna.<sup>1</sup> This classification was refined in 1987 by Pascual and Martí based solely on the collection of Paterna ware at the Museo Histórico Municipal in Valencia, which holds material excavated in the city of Valencia.<sup>2</sup>

Lerma *et al* identified eight typological groups ('Serie' in Spanish), while according to Pascual and Martí, Paterna ware can be organised into ten groups according to form and function. These ten groups are identified alphabetically as Series A to Series J, and are further subdivided into type according to size and profile shape.

These classifications by Lerma *et al* and later by Pascual and Martí are comprehensive studies that take into account all the shapes and sizes that were identified by the authors from the collections studied. However, in their study corpus they included material that was excavated *outside* of the production sites at Paterna. This leaves open the possibility that some of the typologies which are represented by unique examples, that were only found outside of Paterna, could be attributed to other production sites where similar material was made (Teruel, Valencia city or Manises for example; see chapter five). One of the typologies identified by Lerma *et al* (Series H) as well as the two typologies added by Pascual and Martí (Series I and J), are not represented among the collections of Paterna ware that were excavated at the production sites in Paterna. These three typologies are represented by unique examples, in one case only by fragments; furthermore, Series J is decorated with a pure white glaze and not with green and brown pigments.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lerma, Martí, Pascual *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.183.

<sup>2</sup> Pascual and Martí refined and extended the typological classifications in *La Cerámica Verde Manganoso*.

<sup>3</sup> Series H (a tall candlestick) is described by Lerma *et al* as a unique example assembled from fragments, the profile drawing of which the author admits is an 'idealización' (Lerma *et al* 'Sistematización', p.187). Pascual and Martí include the shape but note that it is compiled from a few fragments and its existence is open to doubt (Pascual and Martí p.63).

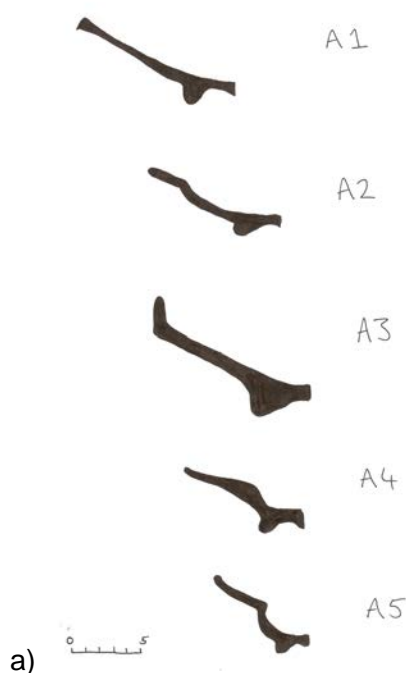
Series I and J were introduced by Pascual and Martí in their revisions; Series I, possibly an ink dip, is represented by a unique piece excavated at Plaza de la Almoina in Valencia; however no examples of the form have been excavated at Paterna to date (Pascual and Martí p.65).

Series J is a closed form, two-handled jar, represented by a unique example, the whereabouts of which are not noted by the authors; it was decorated only with white glaze and without green and brown pigments (Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde Manganoso* p.67).

For the purposes of this thesis, the typologies that are identified below are represented by more than one example and include examples that were excavated at the production sites in Paterna. Series H, I and J from the Pascual and Martí classification will therefore not be included.

The following section shows the seven main typologies with their subsections, with profile drawings matched with photographs of examples taken from the Catalogue.<sup>4</sup>

Series A are plates and dishes of different sizes and profiles. These are open forms of a variety of shapes and sizes and rim forms. They are distinguished from bowls primarily by their shallower depth and the fact that the rim diameter is always greater than the base diameter.<sup>5</sup>



<sup>4</sup> The profiles and drawings are stylised drawings of the shape thought to be the best representation of that form. They conform to the drawing conventions for medieval pottery laid out in *A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms* (Medieval Pottery Research Group, Occasional Paper 1, 1998) note 2.4.2.

<sup>5</sup> *A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms*, 5.3 and 5.4.



Fig.34 a): Profile drawings of Series A. (By the author, after Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.185).

b) Type A-1. Cat.205 with profile.

c) Type A-2. Cat.324 with profile.

d) Type A-5. Cat.184 with profile.

Series B are bowls of different shapes and profiles. Bowls are defined as open forms with a height of one-third or more of its rim diameter, and a rim diameter that is greater than the base diameter.<sup>6</sup> Type B1 and B2 are both hemispherical bowls with pedestal bases. Type B-1-1 is the lobed bowl with equally spaced lobes. Type B3 is a larger, rounded bowl with convex, flared body walls.



a)



b)



c)

<sup>6</sup> *A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms*, 5.1.



*Fig.35 a) Profile drawings of Series B. (By the author, after Lerma et al, 'Sistematización', p.185).*

b) Type B-1. Cat.159 with profile.

c) Type B-1-1. Cat.162 with profile.

d) Type B-3. Cat.168 35 with profile.

Series C are single-handled jugs of different sizes, including the wide- and narrow-necked types. Jugs are closed forms, which have a height greater than the maximum diameter (unlike most bowls). Type C1 is a squat, pear-shaped jug with a wide neck and flared pouring lip. Type C2 is a rounded jug with a narrow neck and flared lip.<sup>7</sup>

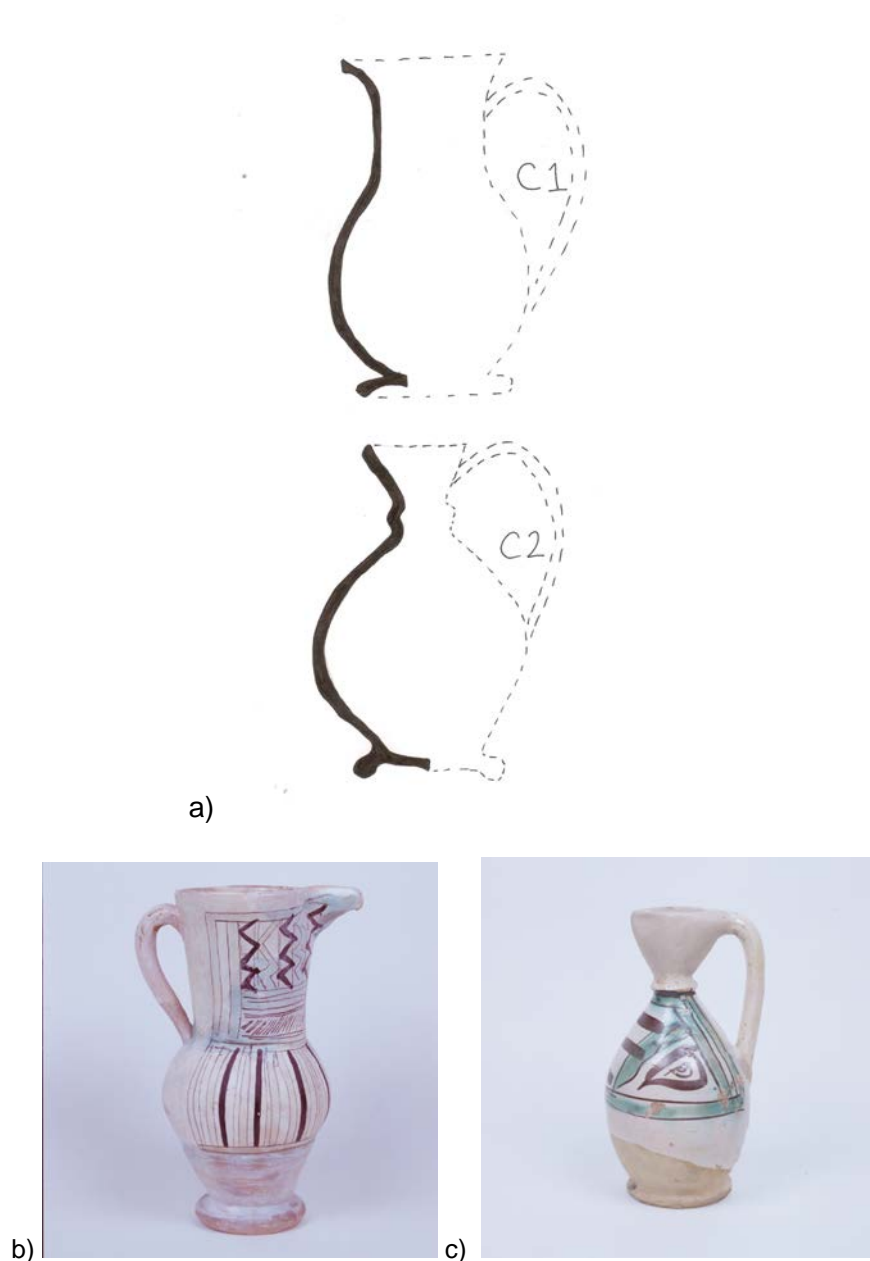


Fig.36 a) Profile drawings of Series C. (By the author, after Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.186).

b) Series C: Type C-1. Cat.383

c) Type C-2. Cat.388.

<sup>7</sup> A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms, 3.1.

Series D is a small, stemmed vessel used to serve and consume liquids. It is a shape which is found very infrequently but may relate to Cat.275, a cup with one handle which has been significantly repaired and probably originally had a stem.<sup>8</sup>

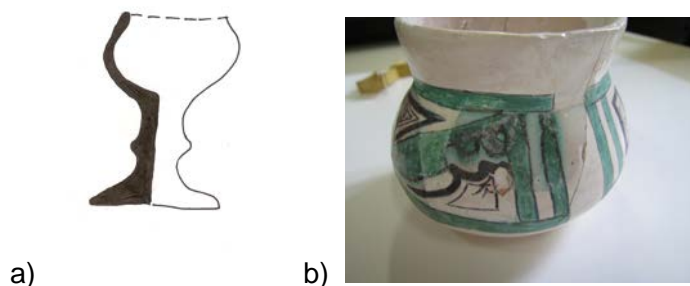


Fig.37 a) Profile drawing of Series D. (By the author, after Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.186).  
b) Series D: Cat.275.

Series E represents a lamp with a small bowl on a pedestal base above a drip-tray. The rim has a wick lip, and a vertical spout provides a looped handle at the top.<sup>9</sup> It may have been used with oil or grease and a wick for illumination.



Fig.38 a) Profile drawings of Series E. (By the author, after Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.186).  
b) Series E Cat.396.

Series F are closed form jars, probably used for storing and containing foods (such as honey, salt, sugar etc).<sup>10</sup> Type F1 is a jar with vertical concave body walls known as an 'albarello' while type F2 is a narrow jar with a convex body and small loop handles.

<sup>8</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde Manganeso*, p.48.

<sup>9</sup> *A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms*, 8.2.5.

<sup>10</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde Manganeso*, pp.54-5.

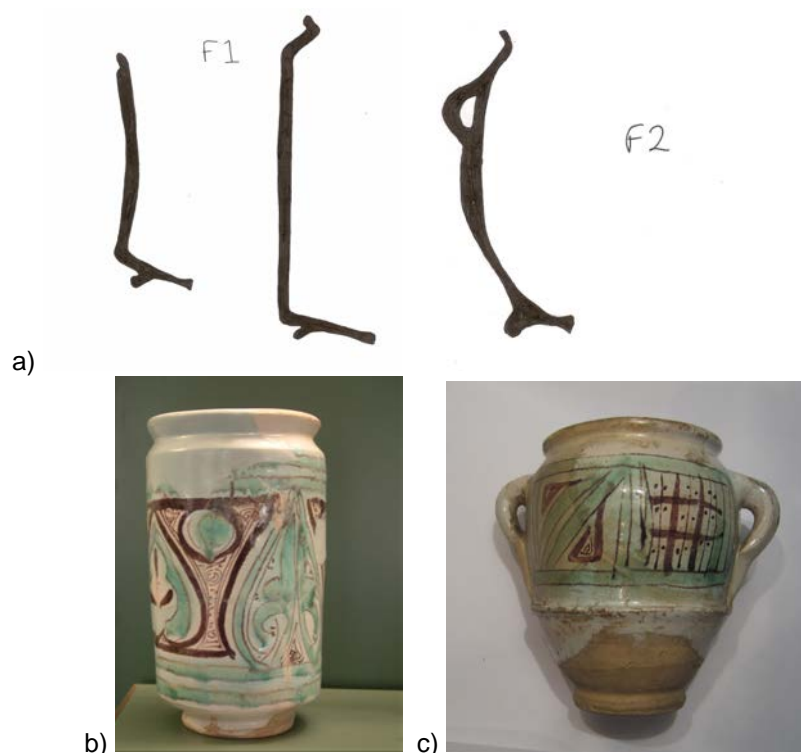


Fig.39 a) Profile drawings of Series F. (By the author, after Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.186).

b) Series F1. Cat.393.

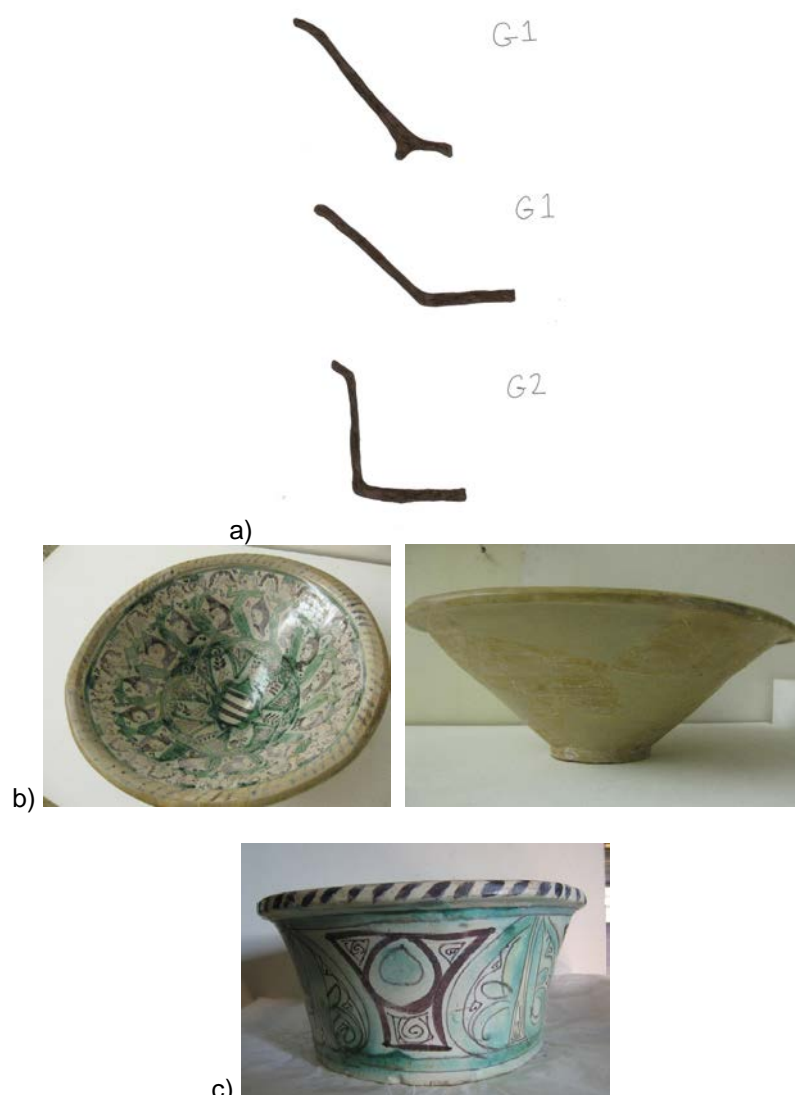
c) Series F2. Cat.394.

Series G are large bowls and basins; type G-1 is a large bowl with concave body walls and with or without a flared rim; this type was possibly used for mixing flour, washing clothes or personal ablutions. Type G-2 is a large straight-sided bowl with a wide, flat base, straight body walls and a small flared rim;<sup>11</sup> this type may have been used for personal hygiene.<sup>12</sup> These types survive in small numbers and their functions are not fully understood.

<sup>11</sup> *A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms*, 5.1.3 and 5.1.7.

<sup>12</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde Manganeso*, pp.61-2.





*Fig.40* a) Profile drawings of Series G. (By the author, after Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.185).

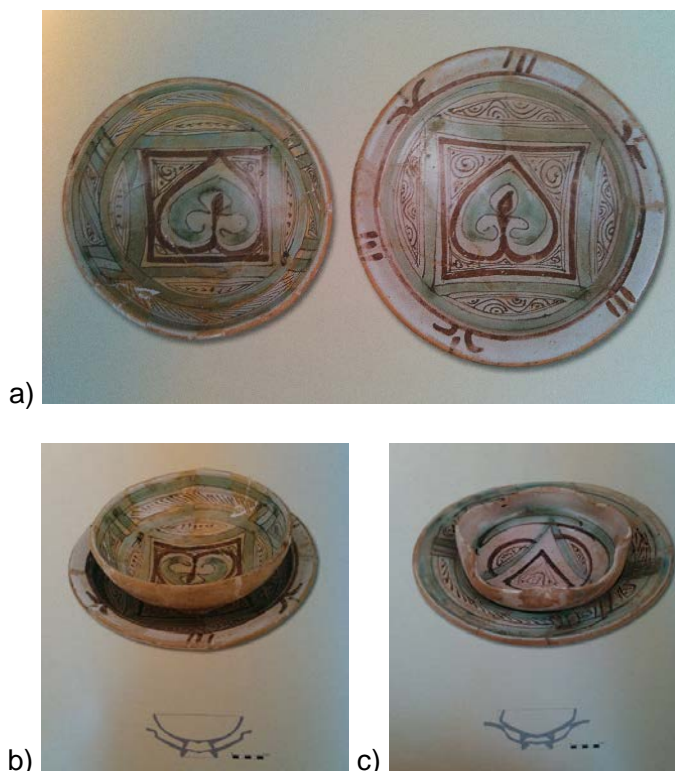
b) Series G1, Cat.35 with profile.

c) Series G2, Cat.390.

The classifications outlined above demonstrate that Paterna ware falls broadly within a small number of typological groups, which fulfil different functions, mostly as tableware, within which there are a wide variety of subdivisions which differ in size and profile more than function. For example, Series A are all plates used to contain solid or semi-solid food at the table.<sup>13</sup> Within the series there are a wide variety of sizes and profile shapes, all of which were used to contain, serve and display food at the table.

<sup>13</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde Manganeso*, p.19. They note that the plate was particularly used to serve meat and fish.

López Elum has argued that repeated patterns and shapes which occur in Paterna ware, suggest that matching sets of tableware may have been made, in which pieces such as a small bowl were made to fit on top of a small plate, and both were decorated with the same motif.<sup>14</sup> He suggests that the matching decoration on the bowl and plate (pictured below), indicates that they were made as part of the same set of tableware.



Figs.41 a),b),c) Photographs and profile drawings showing how decoratively matching sets of Paterna ware may have been used as sets of bowls and plates at the table. (From López Elum, *La producción*, a): p.73 Lam.12.; b): p.74 Lam.13, c): p.72 Lam.11)

This production of sets of ceramics may have been suggested in a document dated 1407, in which Hamet Jafer was contracted to make four *gerres de contrafeyt compartit* (which translates into English as 'jars [meaning a large quantity] of 'imitation' [the word *contrafeyt*, literally 'counterfeit' but meaning 'imitation' rather than 'fake'; indicates green and brown ware<sup>15</sup>] with shared attributes [*compartit* meaning shared, which may indicate a set of ceramics]).

The production of matching ceramics for a particular client was known by the late fourteenth century, when wealthy Italian families such as Francesco Datini

<sup>14</sup>López Elum, *La producción*, p.72 and p.74 Laminates 11 and 13.

<sup>15</sup> López Elum, *La producción*, p.22.

commissioned large sets of lustreware ceramics from the Valencian potters for use at the table. These were decorated with matching motifs including the family coat of arms.<sup>16</sup> From his examination of archival documents in Florence, Spallanzani has described the orders for large quantities of Valencian lustreware placed by many of these Italian families. In 1399 for example, the Datini family acquired 26 pieces of such ware, described as 12 bowls for eating, eight salad plates and six small bowls. In 1460, the brothers Francesco and Carlo Cambini ordered a set of 38 pieces of lustreware for the table, which Spallanzani suggests was only a small part of the original (much larger) order.<sup>17</sup>

However, the concept of a set as we would have today is problematic when applied to the medieval production in Paterna. While it is difficult to reconstruct dining habits from fourteenth-century Valencia specifically, it is likely that if matching sets were made, they were the preserve of only the wealthiest of households. Until the 1400s, diners would not normally have used individual plates, rather they would have eaten from shared platters, a habit that was well established during the Middle Ages.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, while certain motifs are repeated in Paterna ware, there are also many examples of pieces decorated with images that are not repeated (Cat.34 for example) while several decorative styles are only found on certain typologies, in particular the busts of warriors and knights that are used only for small bowls and therefore cannot have been part of a set. The variety of decorative motifs found on Paterna ware

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<sup>16</sup> See Reino Liefkes 'Tableware' p.257 in Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (eds) *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London 2006). Liefkes notes that documentary evidence points to the practical use of this lustreware at the table. He notes that the Gondi family arms appear on several different lustreware objects with exactly the same decoration, indicating they were part of a set. However, he notes that it was not until the sixteenth century that the matching ceramic table 'service' began to be used in Italy (p.254).

<sup>17</sup> Marco Spallanzani, *Maioliche Ispano-Moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 2006) pp.153-155.

<sup>18</sup> Liefkes 'Tableware' p.256. An illustration from a late fourteenth century Italian manuscript shows details of a well-to-do as well as a more humble dining table, with a mix of unmatched tableware and food placed on shared platters. By the mid 1400s the use of individual dishes began to be widespread; Guillermo Rosselló Bordoy notes that in the Nasrid court, the introduction of an individual bowl and plate marked a change in etiquette in court and may have affected the ceramic table services that were made. Rosselló Bordoy 'La Cerámica Nazarí: Producción, Difusión y Pervivencia', in *Cerámica nazarí* (Granada 2009) p.299.

suggests that if matching sets were made, they were not a significant part of production.

As well as describing the large sets of Valencian lustreware that were ordered by individual Italian families for use at the table, Spallanzani also notes that in the 1400s, it was not at all surprising to find three or four Valencian plates or bowls in a typical Florentine household.<sup>19</sup> This is probably how Paterna ware was consumed less than century earlier, in small quantities rather than large sets per household.

### **Old and New Shapes in Paterna Ware**

Many typologies that are found in pre-conquest ceramics are also found in Paterna ware, particularly the open forms like the plate with a wide, flat rim (Series A2), and the concave bowl with a continuous profile and a uniform rim (Series B) . But some typologies that were prominent until the early thirteenth century, such as the two-handled jar (*Fig.45*), are rarely found in Paterna ware. The typologies of ceramics from the tenth to thirteenth centuries found in Valencia city are clearly illustrated in the catalogue of a publication dedicated to this subject (and some examples are pictured on display in *Fig.42*).<sup>20</sup> New shapes that were not found in pre-conquest ceramics were introduced with Paterna ware, shapes which may have been based on prototypes in wood or metal.

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<sup>19</sup> Spallanzani, *Maioliche Ispano-Moresche*, p.152.

<sup>20</sup> Bazzana *et al* (eds.), *La Cerámica Islámica: Catálogo*, pp.163-165.



Fig.42 Photograph of the display of caliphal and taifa ceramics at the Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia, showing some of the pre-conquest typologies.

### Discontinued Typologies

An example of a form that is found among pre-conquest, decorated ceramics is the concave bowl with a wide base and prominent lip (profile below Fig.43a). It is found for example in tin-glazed and decorated ware excavated at Madinat al-Zahra from the tenth century<sup>21</sup> as well as at the thirteenth-century workshops excavated at Denia, nearer to Paterna on the east coast of Spain.<sup>22</sup> However, this wide, lipped bowl, which was relatively common among the surviving typologies from al-Andalus, does not appear at all in Paterna ware. It is possibly replaced by flat plates (Series A1), a form that is not common prior to Paterna, and by steep sided, concave bowls (Series B1).

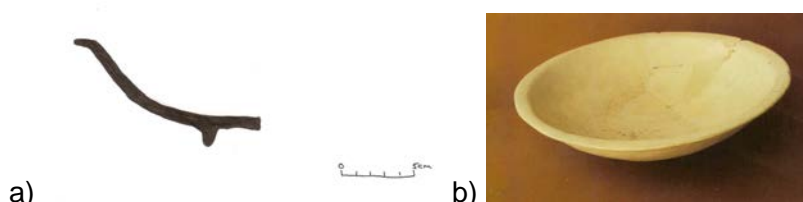
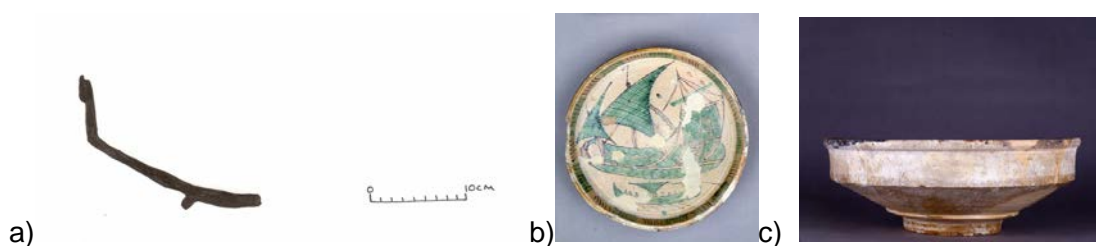


Fig.43 a) Profile of a concave bowl with a wide base and prominent lip. (By the author after Gisbert Santonja *et al* *La Cerámica de Daniya* p.129.)  
b) Glazed ceramic bowl with a wide base and prominent lip, Denia early thirteenth century. From Gisbert Santonja *et al* no.12 p.129. This type is not found amongst Paterna ware.

<sup>21</sup> Cano Piedra, *La Cerámica Verde Manganese* p.61.

<sup>22</sup> Gisbert Santonja *et al*, *La Cerámica de Daniya*, p.129.

Another form that is surprising in its absence in Paterna ware is the wide straight-sided bowl (profile below), which was particularly common among the *bacini* made in Mallorca in the eleventh century.<sup>23</sup> This particular and distinctive shape does not appear in Paterna ware; the closest forms in Paterna are the straight-sided bowls, which are much narrower in their base, and their straight sides are much shorter (Series A3 for example).



**Fig.44** a) Profile of a straight-sided bowl with a wide base. (By the author)  
b) Front and profile © views of a *bacino* made in Mallorca in the eleventh century. Museo di San Matteo, Pisa. (Images from Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa)

Among the closed forms which are absent in Paterna ware, is the rounded jar with a conical neck and two handles which was frequently decorated and found in excavations of late twelfth and early thirteenth century sites in the regions of Valencia, Murcia and Balearic Islands (*Fig.45* for example).<sup>24</sup>



**Fig.45** a) Profile of two-handled conical jar typologies common in the Almohad period.  
b) and c) Examples of similar shaped jars made in early thirteenth century Almohad Mallorca. Decorated with *sgraffito*, partial *cuerda seca* and manganese painting. Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona.

<sup>23</sup> See Rosselló Bordoy, Berti and Pastor Quijada, *Naves Andalusíes en Cerámicas Mallorquinas* Fig.14 p.49. Also Dodds (ed) *Al Andalus* p.239 no.31.

<sup>24</sup> See Bazzana et al (1983) Fig.41 p.127 for an example of these jug types decorated with partial *cuerda seca* and excavated in twelfth century sites in Valencia. See also Rosselló Pons, *Les Ceràmiques Almohades* (1983).

We know that these forms would have been used as domestic water jugs, because many (including Fig.45c) have been found with ceramic water filters inside them. Although glazed examples have been excavated from the tenth century, in Almohad examples these forms were not fully glazed, but decorated with partial *cuerda seca* motifs and manganese brown pigment.<sup>25</sup> Unglazed water jugs in similar forms were found at Paterna, decorated with simple *sgraffito* and painted motifs in manganese brown (see Figs.46 to 49).<sup>26</sup> However, given the function of this form as a container for drinking water and therefore the necessity for it to be unglazed and porous, it is not surprising that the form did not translate to glazed Paterna ware.

### New Typologies and Changing Fashions

The typologies which seem to have dominated Paterna ware were the open forms, and among these were shapes which were new to ceramics in the region: wide plates with flat sides, often with a wide rim, medium sized bowls, and jars with wide necks, usually with one handle and a distinct lip. In a publication dedicated to ceramics and the transition from Islamic to Christian Valencia, Coll, Martí and Pascual explore these typological developments in detail (examining ceramics across all types, decorated and undecorated, from the kingdom of Valencia, including Paterna ware). They conclude that new typologies were used for ceramic vessels involved in the preparation and presentation of food.<sup>27</sup> These shapes were probably influenced by prototypes in other materials (such as wood or metal) from the regions of Catalonia and Aragon.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The Almohad jars excavated at Carrer de Zavellà in Palma de Mallorca, illustrated in Fig.53b and c, are on display at the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona and datable to late twelfth to early thirteenth century. Margalida Rosselló Pons, *Les Ceràmiques Almohades del Carrer del Zavellà, Ciutat de Mallorca*, Palma de Mallorca, 1983.

<sup>26</sup> Mesquida, *Las Ollerías*, p.207 Fig.168. A large unglazed domestic water vessel of this type was excavated at Paterna and is now at the Museu de Paterna, which unusually incorporated a stand underneath its main body – both stand and jar are one piece.

<sup>27</sup> Apart from tableware, the shapes of ceramics made for storage and containers such as the large jars (*alfàbias* and *alcollas*) continued to be made virtually unchanged throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Paterna.

<sup>28</sup> Coll and Martí and Pascual, *Cerámica y Cambio Cultural. El Tránsito de la Valencia Islámica a la Cristiana* (Valencia, 1989) pp.38-41.

Olivar Daydí's examination of fourteenth-century documents from households in Valencia and Catalonia (mostly household inventories and the wills and testaments of Christian figures) has indicated that by the early fourteenth century, ceramic began to replace wood as the primary material for tableware. What is more, he argues, the shapes of wooden vessels which were used at the tables of these households in the fourteenth century were identical to the new shapes of Paterna ware vessels – shapes like the medium-sized bowl, a medium to large serving dish and cups.

Other typologies may derive from metal forms. The Series C1 jug form illustrated above is a common Paterna shape, which was not found in ceramics made before the thirteenth century conquest in Valencia. This large, functional jug shape was also found in coarser versions made in Teruel<sup>29</sup> and in Catalonia<sup>30</sup>, as well as in later Nasrid lustreware from Malaga.<sup>31</sup> This ceramic form is clearly derived from northern European types, which were often made in pewter and used for serving drinks at the table.<sup>32</sup> (Indeed, the Castilian word for the shape is 'pichel', which probably derives from the English 'pitcher'.)

As early as 1295, ceramic vessels began to appear in Christian household inventories in Valencia, but mostly for non-tableware items, for cooking and storage. By the early fourteenth century, ceramic tableware began to appear alongside mentions of wooden tableware. For example, in 1319 the inventory of the estate of Michaelis Loret from Valencia includes both wood and ceramic vessels.<sup>33</sup> Olivar Daydí specifies that from the inventories it is clear that the fashion for ceramic tableware grew in particular during the decade of 1330 to 1340, in Valencia and Catalonia as well as in Mallorca.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Martín Almagro and Luis Llubí, *La Cerámica de Teruel*, (Teruel 1963).

<sup>30</sup> Francesca Riera and Joan Cabestany, *Cerámica de Manresa, Siglo XIV*, (Barcelona 1981).

<sup>31</sup> Balbina Martínez Caviro, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana andalusí y mudéjar*, (Madrid 1991) fig.67.

<sup>32</sup> Juan Zozaya, 'La Cerámica Nazarí: tipología, ornamentación y función, cronología o de los caminantes y la maleza', *Cerámica nazarí* (Granada 2009) p.59-60.

<sup>33</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera*, p.25. Leg. 462. num.2627 fols.67-67v. Archivo General del Reino, Valencia.

<sup>34</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera*, pp.26-27.



López Elum, who examined contracts and documents from across a longer period of time than Olivar Daydí, from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, calculates that the major rise of glazed ceramics happened somewhat later, towards the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>35</sup> By the *end* of the fourteenth century, glazed ceramics had become more popular than wood as domestic tableware.<sup>36</sup>

The impact of wood and metal typologies on the typologies of ceramic tableware tends to be overlooked, perhaps because these other materials are not properly reflected in the archaeological contexts, as pottery tends to survive centuries while both wood and metal deteriorate, giving a false representation of the relative importance of ceramics in relation to other materials. However, it may have been a new taste in glazed ceramic tableware and the influence of other media, which led the Paterna potters to use these forms that had not been familiar in the pre-conquest ceramic tradition.

### **Function and Social Context of Paterna Ware**

Documentary evidence is scarce in relation to Paterna ware, and cannot tell us for whom the tableware was made nor what was its precise function. However, the evidence presented in Chapter Five of the range of archaeological contexts in which Paterna ware has been found, was interpreted to suggest both possible functions as tableware for use in a domestic context, and patterns of consumption by Christian and Muslim communities in the Paterna region, as well as small quantities that may have been sent further afield.

This lack of contemporary documents means it is difficult to ascertain how much of Paterna ware may have been made ‘for export’ and how much for the local market. However, it is possible to infer from contract documents pertaining to undecorated Paterna ware, as well as to lustre-painted and cobalt blue Manises ware, how an

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<sup>35</sup> López Elum, *La producción*, pp.44-55.

<sup>36</sup> López Elum, *La producción*, pp.45-51.

export trade in Paterna ware, however small, may have worked among some merchants. Among the contract documents are those that refer to bulk purchases of undecorated earthenware containers for liquids, usually wine or oil, made in Paterna. For example, on the seventh of February 1326, the textile merchant Joan Eximeno from Valencia hired from Miquel de Rochaic from Paterna two workshops to make ceramics with their share of their kiln. In another contract, a merchant from Morvedre in Sagunto bought 700 containers of 33 litres each.<sup>37</sup> This shows that undecorated ceramics were bought in bulk by merchants contemporary with the production of Paterna ware.

There are a number of surviving contract documents for Manises lustreware from the fourteenth century which show the process of commercialization of this lustreware from the potter to the buyer. López Elum is one of the scholars who have researched these documents in detail; he points out that among the documents pertaining to Manises lustreware from the first third of the fourteenth century, the merchants were mostly from Valencia, Mallorca and Narbonne in France. These merchants who bought from the potters were not the end users or private individuals wanting pottery for themselves, but professional merchants who bought in bulk, sometimes buying up to a year's worth of produce from a single potter.<sup>38</sup> The potters would often be paid in advance *in kind* for their produce; for example, in 1417 the Montpellier merchant Joan Lorenç paid the Manises potter Hacen Muça in advance in lead, tin and cobalt as well as in wheat for his order of ceramics which should be delivered within two months to the port of Valencia.<sup>39</sup>

Spallanzani documents the rising importance of Italian merchants in the trade and consumption of Valencian lustreware from the very end of the fourteenth century.

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<sup>37</sup> López Elum, 'Origen y evolucion' p.180.

<sup>38</sup> López Elum, 'Origen y evolucion', p.169.

<sup>39</sup> López Elum, *La producción*, p.30.

These merchants also bought large quantities of ceramics from the potters, who had been commissioned to make specific orders of tableware.<sup>40</sup>

Although these documents examined by López Elum and Spallanzani refer to Valencian lustreware, this bulk buying of ceramics by professional merchants from Valencia and further afield may have been how Paterna ware was traded. The potters would have made bulk orders that were bought and then sold on by professional merchants, both locally and further afield. This does not preclude the possibility that Paterna ware was also sold directly to individual consumers at the market, but this smaller-scale sale of goods is not documented.

By the fifteenth century, the role of the Italian merchants (in particular the Genoese) was not restricted simply to the buying and selling of finished goods. Such was their control over the trading system in Valencia and Granada in particular, that their influence extended to the manipulation of the kinds of ceramics that were produced according to the profitability of certain types at any one time.<sup>41</sup> This model can be used to understand the role played by textile merchants from southern France in the trade of Valencian ceramics in the first half of the fourteenth century. Like the Genoese merchants a century later, these merchants seem to have established semi-permanent bases in the city of Valencia from which they could control the trade in textiles and ceramics.

López Elum notes that some of the ceramic merchants from Valencia and also from Narbonne also identified themselves as textile merchants.<sup>42</sup> They brought French

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<sup>40</sup> Spallanzani, *Maioliche Ispano-Moresche*, in particular chapter three 'I canali di rifornimento' pp.23-35.

<sup>41</sup> Alberto García Porras and Adela Fábregas García, 'Genoese trade networks in the southern Iberian peninsula: trade, transmission of technical knowledge and economic interactions', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25:1 (2010) pp.35-51. See also Fábregas García, 'Actividad comercial de los reyes nazaríes y su implicación con los representantes del gran comercio occidental a finales de la edad media', *Studio Historica: Historia Medieval* 25 (2007) pp.171-190.

<sup>42</sup> López Elum, 'Origen y evolucion', p.169.

textiles with them and returned with Manises lustreware; for example, in 1325 Martí de Carcassone and Ramon Rocha, merchants from Narbonne, brought French textiles to Valencia; the same merchants brought Manises lustreware back to Narbonne in 1333.<sup>43</sup>

For the French textile merchants, glazed pottery was just one of a variety of exotic items which they bought for their return journey having sold their cloth in Valencia and beyond. The textile trade in Valencia was an important one from the mid-thirteenth century throughout the first third of the fourteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Locally-made cloth was not of a high quality in Valencia and the demand for imported cloth grew particularly within the court of the Crown of Aragon in the mid-thirteenth century. Traders from Narbonne in particular, also Montpellier and Perpignan, traded their own cloth, as well as cloth from northern France and Flanders, in Valencia. These merchants had earned special privileges from assisting the Crown of Aragon in a military context during the conquests, which meant they did not have to pay taxes on their exports of cloth to Valencia.<sup>45</sup> Many settled in the city, at least for several years, from where French cloth was traded within Valencia, to the Valencian hinterland and into Castile. On the return journey, merchants sent exotic goods from Valencia to Narbonne - mostly foodstuffs like olive oil, dried fruit and rice, as well as leather goods,<sup>46</sup> but they also sent ceramics, notably from Manises. However the lack of documents in either Valencia or Narbonne detailing the items bought in Valencia by these French merchants means that we cannot know whether they may have bought Paterna ware as well. We do not have similar documents showing the trade in green and brown ware, but it is not unlikely that

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<sup>43</sup> López Elum, 'Origen y evolucion', p.169.

<sup>44</sup> Guy Romestan, 'A propos du commerce des draps dans la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age: les marchands languedociens dans le royaume de Valence pendant la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique*, 1, 1969 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1972), pp.115-192. The trade really exploded from around 1315, when cloth merchants and manufacturers from Narbonne began to trade directly with Valencian merchants and dealers, instead of going through professional intermediaries (see Romestan p. 139). Once local production of cloth (imitating the French cloth) began in Valencia in the fourteenth century, a system of protectionism began to be put in place by the local Valencian merchants and by the 1340s the trade with Narbonne had been greatly reduced (Romestan p.186-7).

<sup>45</sup> Romestan, 'Les marchands languedociens', p.118.

<sup>46</sup> Romestan, 'Les marchands languedociens', p.156.

the merchants who were trading in lustreware were also involved in the trade of Paterna ware, particularly as the material has appeared together in excavation sites, including in southern France in Collioure near Perpignan.<sup>47</sup>

### **Paterna - other ceramic types**

The adoption of new typologies described in this chapter seems to have applied in Paterna only to the glazed and decorated tableware. There were two other major ceramic types made in the workshops in the early fourteenth century, unglazed earthenware for storing and transporting liquids and foodstuffs, the forms of which seem to have changed less with the Christian conquest; and transparent lead glazed ware for cooking, the forms of which changed only slightly, perhaps to accommodate new cooking habits. Examples of these two other types are illustrated below.<sup>48</sup>

Archaeological finds suggest that there was no specialisation among the Paterna workshops in a particular type of ceramics, rather that during the fourteenth century the three types of ceramic (decorated glazed ware, unglazed earthenware and transparent glazed ware) were made contemporaneously, in the same workshops and sometimes even fired in the same kilns. Mesquida notes that in the Paterna excavations, glazed and decorated pieces have been found stuck to undecorated, transparent glazed pieces, and earthenware stuck to glazed ware, while drops of glaze have been found on all types, indicating mixed firing and simultaneous production.<sup>49</sup>

### **Unglazed earthenware (*bizcochada*)**

A large proportion of the finds from both sites in Paterna comprised unglazed earthenware. From the nine early workshops excavated in Paterna, seventy nine per

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<sup>47</sup> José Hinojosa Montalvo, 'Aspectos del comercio exterior Valenciano en el siglo XIV (1351-1378)', *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 12 (Alicante, 1999), pp.207-36.

<sup>48</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'Tradición e innovación', pp.162-164.

<sup>49</sup> Mesquida *Ollerías*, p.125.

cent of the material was unglazed earthenware, which was used to make containers of varying sizes, including the smaller jugs and the large water storage vessels.<sup>50</sup>

Unglazed earthenware tended to be made for functions related to storage, transport and architecture. This included large amphora-shaped water carriers (*tinajas*) with no handles, with a capacity of up to 360 litres, smaller two-handled jugs with flat bases, storage jars without handles, smaller jars, lamps, teapots and lamps as well as architectural features such as pavements, gutters, tiles and irrigation channels. Potters' tools such as spurs and supports used inside the kiln were also made from unglazed earthenware. This type of ceramic continued to be made throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remaining largely unchanged in form and size.

Most unglazed earthenware was functional and remained undecorated. However, a number of smaller pieces, such as domestic storage jars and smaller jugs, were decorated with manganese painting, mostly geometric designs of combed stripes, zig-zags and swirls, as well as floral and some zoomorphic motifs. A small number of decorated earthenware pieces that probably date to the Islamic period were found at Paterna. These were mostly sherds, decorated with manganese painting, sometimes combined with *sgraffito*. A small number of ceramics decorated with the partial *cuerda seca* technique have been found in Paterna. (However, as noted in chapter eight, these other decorative types may not have been made in Paterna).



*Figs.46,47* Above left and centre: unglazed Paterna ceramics decorated with manganese painting. Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna.

*Fig.48* Above right: ceramic sherd decorated with the partial *cuerda seca* technique. All three excavated at Paterna. Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna (From Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.132-165.)

<sup>50</sup> Mesquida *Ollerías*, p.132



Fig.49 Display of unglazed earthenware storage shapes at the Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna.

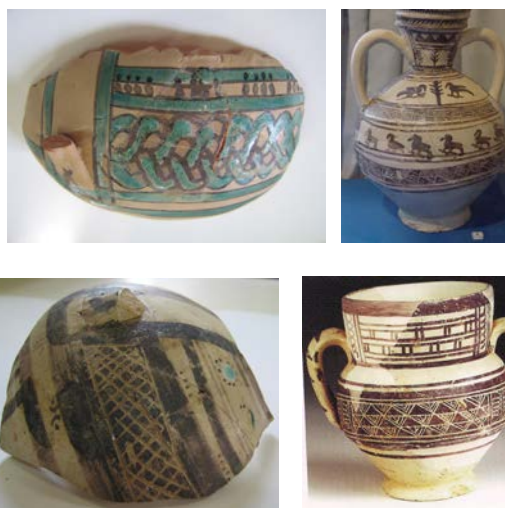


Fig.50 Top left: Partial *cuerda seca* fragment excavated at Paterna.

Fig.51 Top right: Unglazed earthenware jar decorated with manganese and *sgraffito* excavated at Paterna. Inv.HU/99/5953.

Fig.52 Below left: unglazed earthenware sherd decorated with manganese, *sgraffito* and turquoise glaze dot, excavated at Paterna.

Fig.53 Below right: unglazed jar decorated with manganese and *sgraffito*, excavated at Paterna. Inv.HU/98/5942. All at Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna.

'Grey' ware is the term used to describe another type of unglazed earthenware that was excavated in Paterna. The clay mix included more sand and mica than the earthenware clay, and it was fired in a reductive atmosphere that turned the clay a dark grey colour. The exterior was then polished to make it impermeable. This was used in the fourteenth century to make ceramics for culinary use such as pots and casserole dishes.



Fig.54 Example of 'grey' ware, excavated at Paterna, Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna, Inv.PP/88/2232. (From Mesquida (ed.), *Reflejos*, p.140 no.11.)

### Transparent glazed ware (*barnizada*)

Undecorated earthenware, made impermeable by applying a layer of lead-based transparent glaze before the second firing, comprises around twenty per cent of finds from the workshops excavated in Paterna.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes copper oxide was added to the glaze to give it deeper, greenish colour for lamps and jars.

The glaze was used on ceramics intended for cooking, as it made the ceramics impervious and therefore suitable for containing oils and liquids. These include casserole dishes, pots, serving dishes, plates, mortars, plate warmers, jars, bottles, lamps as well as storage jars and vessels for transporting liquid.



Fig.55 Transparent glazed cooking pot, excavated at Paterna, Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna, Inv.HU/99/6120. (From Mesquida (ed.) *Reflejos*, p.133 no.4.)

### Glazed decorative ware – blue and white, and blue and lustre-painted ware

From the first third of the fourteenth century, contemporary with or at a slightly later date than the Paterna ware, two other types of decorated earthenware were made at Paterna.<sup>52</sup> These were lustre-painted ware and blue and white ware; both luxury ceramics that were made often by commission and in a narrow range of typologies.

The types of lustre-painted ceramics made in Paterna and Manises in the fourteenth century have been classified into three groups according to decorative style and typologies (not chronologies).<sup>53</sup> The first is the Early Malagan style, which took its name from a perceived imitation of Malagan lustreware by Valencian potters, making monochrome lustre-painted ware as well as cobalt blue and lustre-painted ware

<sup>51</sup> Mesquida *Ollerías*, p.132. Mesquida dates these workshops to the thirteenth century, based on her stratigraphy worked out from the coin finds (See Chapter Four, Part One: Dating).

<sup>52</sup> For a summary of these types and their chronologies see Coll, *La Cerámica*, pp.74-80.

<sup>53</sup> Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', pp.188-203.



decorated mostly with simple geometric and vegetal motifs. The second group is the Evolved Malagan style, similar to the first style but using a more intense blue colour, a darker lustre colour and more open vessel profiles. The third group is known as the Pula Style, after the group of Valencian ceramics in this style discovered in Pula, Sardinia.<sup>54</sup> This is characterised by the predominance of blue and lustre colours (monochrome lustre is less frequent) and radial and cruciform compositions, and is datable to the first third of the fourteenth century.<sup>55</sup> While these types were all made in both Paterna and Manises, the lustre-painted ware particularly flourished in Manises during the fifteenth century, where a wide range of figurative, heraldic and floral motifs began to be used.

Blue and white ware comprised tableware in which a decoration was painted with a cobalt blue pigment on the fired vessel before the tin glaze was applied.<sup>56</sup> The decorative motifs were mostly simple radial palmettes and pseudo-heraldry, although in the fifteenth century figurative motifs began to appear in this blue and white style. Stylistically this type of ware is similar to the blue and lustre-painted ware which probably began to be made in Paterna at a similar date. Finds and excavations of this type in places with which Valencia had close trade connections, including among the *bacini* in northern Italy and at Narbonne and Collioure in France, confirm a start date of the first third of the fourteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Blake, 'Pula',

<sup>55</sup> Blake, Hughes, Mannoni and Porcella, 'The Earliest Valencian Lustreware? The provenance of the pottery from Pula in Sardinia', *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe. Studies in Honour of John G. Hurst*. David Gaimster, Mark Redknap (eds.), (Oxford, 1992), pp.202-24.

<sup>56</sup> Coll and Ferrero and Juanes and Roldan, 'Caracterización del cobalto en mayólicas valenciana. Aspectos de tecnología productiva y su evolución (ss. XIV-XIX)', XXXV *Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, Albisola 2002 (Florence 2003), pp.63-70.

<sup>57</sup> Amigues, 'Las importaciones de cerámicas doradas valencianas de los talleres de Paterna en el Languedoc-Rosellón', Mesquida (ed.), *La Cerámica de Paterna. Reflejos del Mediterráneo*, (Valencia, 2002), pp.58-82. See also Démians d'Archimbaud and Picon, 'La céramique médiévales en France méditerranéenne. Recherches archéologiques et de laboratoire', *La Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée Occidentale, Xe-Xve siècles*. Valbonne, 1978 (Paris, 1980) pp.16-42. Also Berti, 'Le role des bacini dans l'étude des céramiques à lustre métallique', *Le calife, le prince et le potier*, (Lyon, 2002) pp.220-227.

Typologically this lustre-painted ware and blue and white ware was similar to Paterna ware and comprised tableware, mostly open bowls and plates and some jugs and jars.<sup>58</sup> While stylistically there is a certain degree of crossover with Paterna ware, such as in the use of the pine-cone motif for example, or in the image of the bust of a knight in fifteenth century Manises lustreware which is similar to the Paterna bust image (see chapter nine), Paterna ware is immediately distinguished by its wide variety of figurative iconography, lack of radial motifs which predominate in the other styles and a wide typographical range.<sup>59</sup> Unlike Paterna ware, the production of which seems to have ceased by the end of the fourteenth century, blue and white ware and lustre-painted ware flourished to greater commercial success as a luxury ceramic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



Fig.56 Left: Tin-glazed bowl, decorated with cobalt blue. Excavated at Paterna, fourteenth century. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia, Inv.6/1231.

Fig.57 Right: Tin-glazed bowl, decorated with cobalt blue and lustre. Excavated at Paterna fourteenth century. Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna, Inv.HU/97/5203.

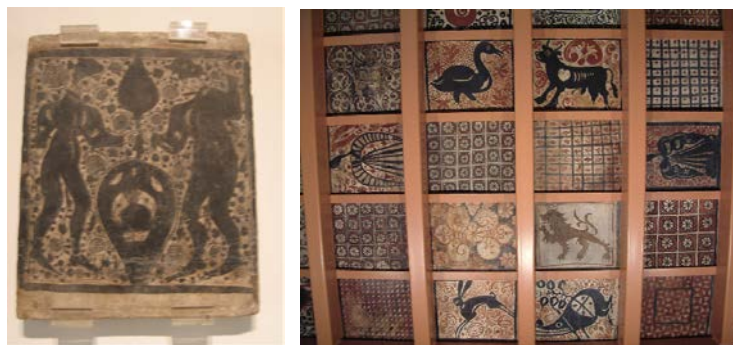
### Painted Tiles (*socarrats*)

From the fifteenth century, painted tiles known as *socarrats* began to be made at Paterna. These were placed between beams to decorate the houses of noble families. These rectangular tiles, usually around 40 x 30cm, were fired and painted with a white calcium oxide paint, then decorated with iron and manganese pigments to make red and black colours, with lively figurative, epigraphic and heraldic motifs.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', pp.188 Fig.3 and 189 Fig.4.

<sup>59</sup> Lerma *et al*, 'Sistematización', p.185 Fig.1 and 186 Fig.2.

<sup>60</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, pp.138-43.



*Fig.58* Left: *Socarrat* (ceiling tile), Paterna sixteenth century. Museo de Cerámica, Barcelona.

*Fig.59* Right: Reconstruction of how *socarrats* were used between beams in ceiling decoration. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia (exhibited).

While these ceiling tiles were made at a much later date than Paterna ware, they show a similar iconographic programme of figurative imagery, including many images of real and fantastical animals and of paired and single human figures. The motifs used in these *socarrats* may in fact have been copied from existing painted wooden ceilings (see Chapter Nine on the painted ceilings of Liria and Teruel for example), which were made by Mudéjar artists.

## **Conclusions**

The summary of typologies has demonstrated that Paterna ware was functional tableware. Similar shapes predominated in Valencian lustreware (small and medium sized bowls and large plates), which we know was used as functional tableware by the Italian nobility.<sup>61</sup> Unlike this lustreware, however, which was frequently commissioned as large sets for a single patron, the wide variety of motifs and lack of recognisable coats of arms in Paterna ware indicate that it was not made as 'sets', rather it was probably consumed in smaller quantities by less wealthy patrons than the later consumers of lustreware. The appearance of new ceramic shapes and the apparent abandonment of some older forms is evidence of the changing tastes or eating habits of the population, and may reflect a move towards ceramic rather than wooden or metal shapes for tableware.

Documentary evidence was vital to building an understanding of how Paterna ware may have been traded. Unglazed ceramics from Paterna (contemporary with Paterna ware), as well as Valencian lustreware from the fifteenth century, were made to order by the potters and bought in bulk by local and foreign merchants. Paterna ware was probably traded in the same way, although specific documentary evidence for Paterna ware has not survived. The role played by Italian merchants in the movement of luxury, lustreware ceramics, even in the production and style of those ceramics, has been explored by Garcia and Fabregas (see notes 41 and 42 in this chapter). It is suggested here that French textile merchants may have played a similar (if less prominent) role a century earlier in Valencia, controlling the trade in ceramics and textiles.

This intimate relationship between textiles and ceramics in terms of their trade, is perhaps also reflected in their decoration. Iconographical motifs frequently seem to cross the boundaries of different media, appearing on both ceramics and textiles, as well as on manuscript paintings and enamelled metalwork from the western

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<sup>61</sup> Spallanzani, *Maioliche Ispano-Moresche*, chapter IX 'Usi' pp.151-168.

Mediterranean region (see *Figs.* 124 and 144 for example), as the examination of the iconography of Paterna ware in Chapter Nine will reveal.

In her discussion of portable objects within a courtly realm in the tenth- to twelfth-century Mediterranean world, Eva Hoffman explains these similarities that she identifies among objects made in different centres to one another. She argues for a 'pluritopic' (literally, multiply placed) model in which there was not a single, centralised centre of production of these objects, but rather multiple sites and a great fluidity between centres and peripheries.<sup>62</sup> Ceramics such as Paterna ware were moved easily, traded alongside other portable goods like textiles, both within the region of Valencia and across the western Mediterranean. The trade of Paterna ware by French textile merchants, as well as the finds of Paterna ware in sites across the Mediterranean (see Chapter Five), may place these ceramics, however far from the courtly realm they were, within this paradigm of portable objects that were part of a wider, Mediterranean language of common techniques, typologies and above all iconography.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Eva Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Art History* 24:1 (2001) pp.17-50.

<sup>63</sup> The wider production of green and brown, decorated ceramics in the western Mediterranean is explored in Chapter Eight 'Paterna ware in context'; however this discussion pertains also to the appearance of similar motifs to those in Paterna ware across other media, which is explored in Chapter Nine.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **THE PRODUCTION OF PATERNA WARE: Materials, Techniques and Workshops**

Chapter Six linked the typologies of Paterna ware with its function and with patterns of consumption, demonstrating that this was a type of glazed tableware that was patronised by a mixed population mostly within the area of Valencia. While the typologies common in Paterna ware illustrate a combination of shapes and functions from both pre-conquest Andalusí ware and post-conquest Christian traditions, the way the ceramics were made seems to rely entirely on pre-conquest techniques.

This chapter is concerned with this production of Paterna ware, specifically with the raw materials, the techniques and the workshops used to make the ceramics. The first section examines the materials used by the potters, outlining their properties, sources and particular functions. The sources of many of these ingredients was a key factor in the type of ceramics produced in Paterna; this section will also explore how the potters may have exploited new sources of tin from southwest England, a development which allowed an industry of tin-glazed ceramics to flourish in the fourteenth century.

The following section looks at techniques, and the manner in which the potters manipulated the materials to produce particular effects. The techniques of glazing, fritting and firing are examined in detail, while the possibilities for understanding the processes of production from the glaze composition is also discussed at this point.

The final section outlines the layout of the potters' workshops and studies the tools used by these potters, particularly the wheel, the kiln and the smaller tools that were found during excavations.

## Materials: Clay and Tin

### Clay: sources and composition

The data used in this section is largely based on the research undertaken at the University of Barcelona, led by Judit Molera, into the chemical and mineralogical composition of the clays used in Paterna.<sup>1</sup> In summary, the analysis tells us that the clay used by the potters in Paterna was not simply the unadulterated river clay, fired in a kiln. The sophisticated decorating and firing techniques developed by the potters demanded a clay that was finely adapted to suit the potters' needs. Different clays were chosen for their particular properties, such as the clay's plasticity, drying and shrinking rates or colour.<sup>2</sup> Extra ingredients, in addition to those found in any one clay source were added, as in the case of lime (Calcium Carbonate –  $\text{CaCO}_3$ ), which was used to lighten the colour of the clay.

There is nothing unusual in potters selecting clays for their specific properties and creating mixes using a variety of sources to produce specific results. These clay-refining techniques were used with the introduction of wheel-throwing technology as long ago as 4,000BC in the Near East.<sup>3</sup> Analyses of the varieties of ceramic bodies used in ninth-century Iraq, in Fatimid Egypt and Ayyubid Syria all show evidence of a great deal of sophistication in the choice of ingredients for specific results. The

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<sup>1</sup> The University of Barcelona undertook an investigation into the technology of production of the Paterna ceramics, see Molera and Pradell and Mesquida and Vendrell Saz, 'Características Técnicas y Procesos de Producción de las Cerámicas del S.XIII en Paterna', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.235-261. This group examined all types of ceramics produced in Paterna, including unglazed, lead-glazed, tin-glazed ware, lustre-painted with cobalt, white ware, and fragments of primary materials found on excavations sites, including clays and fritted glazes. The material came from the two sites in Paterna, *Ollerías Mayores* and *Ollerías Menores*. They studied the chemical and mineralogical composition of the clays, glazes and colours and based on the results of these studies, they discussed the techniques used to make the ceramics. Amigues also investigated the production techniques based on data from excavations in 'La Cerámica Valenciana: sus Técnicas de Fabricación', *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, BAR International Series 610 (Oxford 1995), p.129-139.

<sup>2</sup> Coll, 'La Ceràmica Valenciana del segle XIII al XIX', in Vila i Carabasa (ed.) *Ceràmica Medieval i Postmedieval*, p.170.

<sup>3</sup> Tite, 'Ceramic Production, Provenance and Use – A Review', *Archaeometry* 50:2 (2008) p.217. Caiger-Smith, *Tin-glaze*, p.204 also discusses the specific types of clay used for glazed wares as opposed to unglazed wares in twelfth century Kashan, Iran.

development of stonepaste technology in Fatimid Egypt is an example of how adding particular ingredients to a clay base - quartz and glass in this case - produced an entirely new type of ceramic body, which was harder and whiter than earthenware.<sup>4</sup> The Paterna potters were following the tradition of centuries of potters in their careful selection of ingredients for their earthenware ceramics. Finding a clay mix which works and a range of ingredients which produces different results according to the proportions of each added into the clay mix, demonstrates a level of technical sophistication which cannot just be invented but must be passed on by experienced potters.

### **What is clay?**<sup>5</sup>

Clay is a naturally occurring material made up of a complex mixture of minerals with a grain size of less than two micrometres.<sup>6</sup> Clay contains water, which separates the minerals and gives the clay its plasticity, a property that allows the material to hold its shape when moulded for pottery. Plasticity is also affected by the chemical composition and the particle size of the clay.<sup>7</sup> When the water within the clay is dried, the clay becomes hard and retains its shape, although it remains brittle. Firing at temperatures of over 950 degrees Celsius gives the clay its strength and density.<sup>8</sup> Clays from various geographical areas, or from particular clay quarries within an area, contain different proportions of minerals, which influence the properties of the clay such as degree of plasticity or porosity.

### **Paterna Clay Sources**

The potters in Paterna used a variety of clay sources, including clay dug from the land around the workshops as well as from clay quarries in the local area bordering the river

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Mason, *Shine Like the Sun. Lustre-Painted and Associated Pottery from the Medieval Middle East* (Ontario, 2004), pp.170-72.

<sup>5</sup> This definition of clay is largely from: Stephen Guggenheim and R.T. Martin, 'Definition of Clay and Clay Mineral: Joint Report of the AIPEA Nomenclature and CMS Nomenclature Committees' *Clays and Clay Minerals*, 43:2, (1995) pp.255-256.

<sup>6</sup> A micrometre is one millionth of a metre.

<sup>7</sup> Guggenheim, 'Clay' p.255.

<sup>8</sup> C. Barry Carter and M. Grant Norton, *Ceramic Materials: science and engineering* (New York, London, 2007) p.19.



Turia and its tributaries. Analysis by the University of Barcelona group concluded that there were two main clay sources which were mixed with local Paterna clay; the main one, used in largest proportions, was a red plastic clay from an area known as Pla de Quart, which was mixed with clay from another area known as Terra de Cànter which was a less plastic more chalky clay.<sup>9</sup>

The 'Pla de Quart' is the region which borders the river Turia and its delta in the final thirty kilometres of its journey, before it reached the *comarca* of the *huerta* de Valencia. (A *comarca* is an administrative division. The Pla de Quart area is now divided between the modern *comarcas* of Campo de Turia and Huerta Oeste, the latter of which includes Paterna and Manises). Clay from this area is still available for analysis. The Terra de Cànter source of clay has been exhausted, so it is no longer possible to test the proportion of clay from this source which was used in the clay mixes.<sup>10</sup>

Nonetheless, this source is noted in a legal document from 1304, which mentions that the potters in Manises used clay from a place called Terra de Cànter a short distance up the Turia river from Manises and Paterna.<sup>11</sup> The document describes a territorial dispute between the Boïl family, landlords of Manises, and the landlord of the nearby town of Riba-roja. The dispute was arbitrated on 17 November 1304 when the limits of the zones were defined. Within the text, a particular area known as 'cabeços d'Alhetx' is mentioned, which is situated within the Terra de Cànter area that belonged to Manises. The text notes that this was the land of the *alcolles* or large earthenware storage pots (*cabeços d'Alhetx hon és la terra de les alcolles*), indicating that this was where the clay was obtained for the potters from Manises; Paterna lies just across the river from Manises and it is very probable that they would have used the same clay sources.

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<sup>9</sup> Molera et al, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.243.

<sup>10</sup> This data is largely drawn from Molera, 'Característiques Tècniques de les Produccions Ceràmiques del Taller del Testar (Paterna), s.XIV' (unpublished master's thesis, Barcelona, 1991) pp.64-80.

<sup>11</sup> López Elum, *Orígenes*, p.49. The document is in the Archivo Municipal de Sueca (AMS), Fondo Boïl no.1.

As well as using clays brought into Paterna, the clay from the marl subsoil at Paterna itself, a lime-rich mudstone with a 33% lime content, was also found in various parts of the workshop during excavations. This suggests that it was also used in the clay mixes, although with such a high proportion of lime it could not have been used alone, but would have been mixed with clay from the Terra de Cànter which has a lower lime content.

The rock in the subsoil of Paterna itself has been analysed (chemically, mineralogically and by its inclusions); it is possible that the potters used this as a relatively pure source of quartz sand for preparing frits and glazes as well as to add to the clay itself.<sup>12</sup>

This local source of clay would have been dug out around the workshops. Mesquida excavated pits in the Paterna workshops from which clay was extracted. A typical clay source pit was 1.2m long by 0.9m wide and 1m deep. It had been subsequently filled in with discarded ceramics, wasters from the kiln. Another was 1.8m long by 1.5m wide and 1.5m deep, also filled with discarded ceramics, this time mixed with bones and ash which suggests that the pit was used as a dump for rubbish as well as kiln wasters. Both pits had been excavated to extract the seam of clay before being filled in.<sup>13</sup>

A document from 1411 sheds some light on the process of extracting clay from local sources. A contract was written between the tile-maker Bernardo de Moya and Arnaldo Sancho, in which Bernardo is given permission to dig eight pits for clay to make tiles, in a farm owned by Arnaldo in Raniosa, a suburb of Valencia. The clay could be dried on the farm, while Bernardo was obliged to fill in the pits with ashes and rubble and to cover them so they could be used again for cultivation.<sup>14</sup>

### **Paterna Clay Composition**

Molera *et al* found four different types of clay composition which were used in pottery made at Paterna – four distinct recipes, made probably from the two primary clay

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<sup>12</sup> Molera et al, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.242-243.

<sup>13</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.120.

<sup>14</sup> De Osma, *Los Maestros*, p.102.

sources mixed with each other and additional ingredients, in particular sand and lime, in varying proportions.

The four primary clay mixes were specifically formulated to suit the particular function and decorative finish intended for each pot – unglazed earthenware, lead-glazed cooking ware, and different decorative finishes on tin-glazed ware. Each type of clay was specific therefore to the function and consequently the decoration of the ceramics. These clay recipes were made in both *Ollerías Mayores* and *Ollerías Menores* sites, and all four were made within each workshop, indicating that potters worked on different types of ceramics without specialising, in both sites.<sup>15</sup> The actual differences between each clay mix were in small, percentage-weight variations in the mineral elements within the clay, principally in the amount of lime and sand in each group. All the clays contain the clay minerals, which included the elements aluminium oxide ( $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$ ), potassium oxide ( $\text{K}_2\text{O}$ ), calcium oxide ( $\text{CaO}$ ), silicon dioxide ( $\text{SiO}_2$ ), titanium dioxide ( $\text{TiO}_2$ ), ferric oxide ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) and magnesium oxide ( $\text{MgO}$ ).<sup>16</sup>

The excavation in the Paterna workshop sites of unfired ceramics (discarded before firing) and clay discarded before it had been thrown on the wheel, enabled Molera *et al* to identify the minerals contained in the clays. Lime was found in both excavation sites, as a white powder. The potters used a clay mix with a high lime content (of around 19%) in ceramics that demanded a relatively paler, finer body than Paterna ware, which were those subsequently decorated with cobalt blue and lustre colours.<sup>17</sup> This high lime content had two effects: firstly, lime acts as a bleaching agent and lightens the colour of a fired surface, due to the dissolution of the iron during firing. This paler clay allowed lower quantities of tin to be used in the glaze to obtain opacity, than would be necessary on a clay with lower lime content. Secondly, clay with higher lime content

<sup>15</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.238.

<sup>16</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.238 fig.182.

<sup>17</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.62.

has a rate of thermal expansion that is similar to that of the tin glazes. This similarity helps to avoid the risk of defects such as crackling during the glazing process.<sup>18</sup>

The lime content in the clay used for Paterna ware and for manganese-painted, unglazed ware was around 14%.<sup>19</sup> This amount of lime produced a pale clay with a thermal expansion suitable for tin glazing.

Finally, ceramics intended for cooking purposes, which were fired with a transparent glaze, were made from a clay with the lowest lime content of only seven per cent. These cooking wares were undecorated and only required a single firing - a high lime content in the clay would have caused problems in a single firing.

A clear example of the effects of lime in a clay can be found in the green and brown tin-glazed ceramics made in contemporary fourteenth-century workshops in Teruel.<sup>20</sup> The clay used here had a lime content of six to nine per cent. It was this low lime level, compared with the 14% used in Paterna ware, which created the red coloured clay that is typical from Teruel, as the iron does not dissolve during firing, but stays in the form of ferric oxides ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) which leave a red colour. Teruel glazes also tend to craze more than those tin glazes from Paterna, perhaps because of the thermal expansion rates from the lower lime content in the clay.

## **Tin**

Potters' workshops are usually situated near to the sources of the primary ingredients - water and clay.<sup>21</sup> However, the materials that are needed in smaller amounts, such as copper, manganese and tin, would almost always have to be brought in by the potter

<sup>18</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.248.

<sup>19</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.248.

<sup>20</sup> Pérez-Arantegui and Julián M. Ortega and C. Escriche, 'La Tecnología de la Cerámica Mudéjar entre los Siglos XIV y XVI: Las Producciones Esmaltadas de las Zonas de Teruel y Zaragoza', *Avances en Arqueometría 2005*, *Actas del VI Congreso Ibérico de Arqueometría* (Girona, 2007), p.91.

<sup>21</sup> López Elum, *Los Orígenes*, p.49.

from an external source. Copper (as well as lead, which is used in the glaze mix) is a commonly found element in Spain, which was mined and abundantly available to Paterna potters, but the same is not true of tin.<sup>22</sup>

Tin was a vital ingredient in the new opaque ceramic glazes in the Islamic and Mediterranean worlds. It was the addition of tin to the glaze that made the glaze opaque, providing the potter with a white base that could be treated like a blank canvas, onto which colours and decorative motifs could be painted. The question of where the Paterna potters sourced their tin is an important one to address here, primarily as the importation of this raw material suggests a certain level of sophistication was reached within the organisation of the workshops, but also because the use of a new tin source from the southwest of England could go some way to explaining why tin-glazed ceramics flourished at this time across the Mediterranean (this is addressed in Chapter Eight 'Paterna Ware in Context').

According to Dr Thilo Rehren, professor of archaeological materials and technologies at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, it is not possible to establish the provenance of tin oxide analytically, neither by trace elements nor by isotopes.<sup>23</sup> Without this integral physical evidence, the only way to find out about the source of tin used by the potters in Paterna is to examine archaeological evidence for tin mining and documentary sources on the tin trade. This evidence which is explored below, indicates that tin was mined within Iberia until the end of the Roman period, and possibly more sporadically under Islamic rule. The Paterna potters however probably sourced their tin

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<sup>22</sup> Maurice Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, tr. by J. Spencer (Princeton, New Jersey, 2004) p.108. Copper was mined in the regions of Huelva, at Cerro Muriano near Córdoba, in Granada, Almería and Montes de Toledo. See Octavio Puche Riart 'La minería visigótica y musulmana en la Península Ibérica', *Bocamina: Patrimonio minero de la región de Murcia, del 8 de septiembre al 6 de noviembre de 2005: catálogo* (Murcia, 2005) p.90. See also Olivia Remie Constable *Trade and Traders* pp.185-86.

<sup>23</sup> Personal email communication with Dr Thilo Rehren, University College London, April 2008.

from the southwest of England, an abundant source, the availability of which was to have a great impact on the kind of pottery produced here.<sup>24</sup>

### **What is Tin?**

Tin is a rare metal, much rarer than copper or iron. In terms of average crustal concentration, or 'parts per million' of the amount of an element that is found in the earth's crust, there are fifty-five parts per million of copper, 50,000 parts per million of iron and only two parts per million of tin in the crust.<sup>25</sup> Ultimately tin comes from the earth's mantle, but it is not clear how it was originally made or deposited. Tin is found in veins of quartz that run through granite rock, appearing in the form of tin oxide ( $\text{SnO}_2$ ) which is known as cassiterite.<sup>26</sup> Cassiterite is the main 'ore' of tin, in other words, it is the naturally occurring mineral where tin oxide can be found in great enough concentration to be mined.

### **Tin in Ceramic Glazes**

In ceramics, tin oxide is used to make a glaze opaque, to whiten an otherwise transparent glaze. The tin glaze consists of a layer of glass in which tin oxide particles are suspended.<sup>27</sup> The outer surface of this glaze is smooth and reflects the light; the point of contact between the underlying clay body and the glaze is a rough surface, which diffuses the light. The crystals of tin oxide within the glaze scatter the light back towards the surface before it reaches the underlying clay body, thus making the glaze opaque. The degree of opacity depends on a number of factors: the concentration of tin oxide particles, the size of these particles, their surface irregularity, and the solubility of these particles in the glaze. For maximum opacity, there should be a high

<sup>24</sup> The sources of tin for ceramic glazes and the important role played by the medieval trade of tin in the flourishing of a glazed ceramics industry in the western Mediterranean, focusing on medieval Paterna, are explored in detail in Anna McSweeney, 'The Tin Trade and Medieval Ceramics: Tracing the Sources of Tin and its Influence on Mediterranean Ceramics Production', *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 23 iii (Exeter, 2011) pp.155-169.

<sup>25</sup> Roger David Penhallurick, *Tin in antiquity: its mining and trade throughout the ancient world with particular reference to Cornwall* (London, 1986) p.1.

<sup>26</sup> James D. Muhly, 'Sources of Tin and the Beginnings of Bronze Metallurgy', *American Journal of Archaeology* 89:2 (1985), p.277-8.

<sup>27</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical Properties', p.327.

concentration of particles, with irregular surface shapes.<sup>28</sup> The opacity of the glaze is also affected by the underlying colour of the clay, the thickness of the glaze and the presence of other elements in the glaze.<sup>29</sup> Increasing both the concentration of tin oxide particles in the glaze and the thickness of the glaze achieve greater opacity.<sup>30</sup>

### **Sources of Tin**

Spain is certainly rich in mineral wealth and its tin deposits have been historically and recently exploited.<sup>31</sup> The geological zone of rocks that was created in the Paleozoic Era, which are concentrated in the west and north of the peninsula and known as the Iberian Massif, contains most of the peninsula's tin deposits, both in current production and historically 'mined out'. Meredith notes a few small mineral deposits outside of the Massif, in San Isodoro by Cartagena and Marinera near Almeria, which he argues have no real commercial value but might possibly have been worked in antiquity.<sup>32</sup> The richest Iberian tin deposits are in the north, around the Portuguese border in the provinces of Galicia and Zamora.<sup>33</sup>

Archaeological evidence shows that these Iberian tin deposits were exploited on a large scale during the Roman period until surface deposits were exhausted in many sites in the third century AD.<sup>34</sup> Documentary evidence also indicates that tin from Iberia was mined until the end of the Roman era, but gives us few details about the location of these mines.<sup>35</sup>

It has often been claimed in scholarly publications that mining came to a halt in Iberia

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<sup>28</sup> Mason and Tite, 'The Beginnings of Tin-Opacification', p.46.

<sup>29</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical Properties', p.339.

<sup>30</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical Properties', p.325

<sup>31</sup> Craig Meredith, 'An Archaeometallurgical Survey for Ancient Tin Mines and Smelting Sites in Spain and Portugal. Mid-Central Western Iberian Geographical Region 1990-1995', *BAR International Series* 714 (Oxford, 1998) p.31.

<sup>32</sup> Meredith, 'Tin mines', p.31.

<sup>33</sup> Hedges, *Tin*, p.103-4.

<sup>34</sup> Hatcher, *English Tin*, p.13. See also R. Dali Colls and Claude Domergue and Fanette Laubenheimer and Bernard Liou, 'Les lingots d'étain de 1" Port-Vendres II', *Gallia* 33, (Nanterre, 1975) p.61-94 and Dali Colls and Etienne and Lequement and Liou and Mayet, 'L'épave Port-Vendres II et le commerce de la Bétique à l'époque de Claude', *Archaeonautica*, 1, (Paris, 1977).

<sup>35</sup> John F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London, 1978) p.316.

under Islamic rule. This theory implies a lack of interest, ability or capacity among the new rulers to extract or exploit minerals, in a land that had enjoyed great fame for its rich mineral wealth since pre-Roman times.<sup>36</sup>

More recent scholarship has sought to revise this theory by examining the physical and documentary evidence, which confirms that mining in al-Andalus (alluvial and underground extraction) continued on a significant scale under Islamic rule.<sup>37</sup> Evidence for possible tin sites from Islamic and medieval Spain is elusive however, as archaeological evidence of the exploitation of alluvial deposits is hard to find and no significant work on sites from these periods in Iberia has been carried out to date.<sup>38</sup> Those tin seams that were mined were not dug to any great depth so left little evidence of their exploitation.<sup>39</sup>

Documentary evidence tells us that the inhabitants of al-Andalus had the knowledge and skills necessary to mine for metals in the ground. Contemporary chroniclers often mention mines of metals including mercury, copper, gold, silver and lead.

The twelfth-century geographer al-Idrisi in his 'Geography of Spain' talks about a visit to a mercury mine in Obal that was more than 250 *qamah* deep (a *qamah* is the height of a man).<sup>41</sup> Idrisi mentions mines of mercury, copper and other minerals (but does not

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<sup>36</sup> For example, as recently as 1964 one could read the following about mining in Islamic Spain in Felipe A. Calvo, *La España de los Metales. Notas para una historia* (Madrid, 1964) p.51: 'Cuando las minas de España cuya fama se comentaba en todo el mundo entonces conocido pasaron a manos de los árabes, bajó su rendimiento en cobre, plomo y otros metales. Su civilización era de oasis; se comprende a un Emir jugando con el agua, creando huertos y estimulando el estudio de los astros porque, al fin y al cabo, formaban parte del jardín de sus alcazars; pero es más difícil imaginarle al lado de un ferrón.'

<sup>37</sup> See Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo, 'La Industria en al-Andalus', *Al-Qantara* 1 (Madrid, 1980), pp.209-241. Also Canto García and Cressier, *Minas y Metalurgia*. Also Ignacio Quintana Frías, 'Minería y territorio durante el Califato de Córdoba, y la ruta de Córdova a Batalyaws', *Boletín Geológico y Minero* 117 (Madrid, 2006), pp.567-569.

<sup>38</sup> Personal email communication with Alberto Canto García, editor of *Minas y Metalurgia* (Madrid, 2008) dated 24.11.08.

<sup>39</sup> Personal email communication with Ignacio Quintana Frías, dated 11.12.08.

<sup>41</sup> S.M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.: a sociological study*, (Leiden, 1981), p.100 (al-Idrisi, 214:266)



mention tin) in his 'Geography'.<sup>42</sup>

One contemporary Muslim author does mention tin mining in Islamic Iberia, mined in Ocsónoba, a region near Faro in the Algarve (now Portugal).<sup>43</sup> Abu Ubayd al-Bakri (c.1014-1094), who was born in Spain and lived under Taifa rulers, wrote two books on geography. In one he describes the trees, minerals and geology of Iberia:

'In Ocsónoba a tin mineral is found which is unique in its similarity to silver; there are sources near to France and León'.<sup>44</sup>

He also mentions here the finds near France and in León, suggesting further sources in the north.

Ibn Hawqal, writing in the second half of the tenth century, also mentions Ocsónoba as a celebrated town, which is abundant in resources.<sup>45</sup> Ocsónoba may have been one source of tin for the population of al-Andalus, particularly as it was within Muslim-held territories and reasonably near to centres such as Cordoba.<sup>46</sup>

The potters may have had other sources of tin however, and it is possible that trade patterns established by Abbasid and Fatimid merchants may have been imported to al-Andalus along with the tin glaze technique in the ninth century.<sup>47</sup> The town of 'Kelah' in

<sup>42</sup> Reinhart Dozy and Michael Jan de Goeje (eds.), *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi. Texte Arabe publié avec une traduction, des notes et un glossaire par R. Dozy et M. J. de Goeje* (Leiden, 1866, repr. 1968).

<sup>43</sup> Christophe Picard, *L'Océan Atlantique Musulman de la Conquête Arabe à l'Époque Almohade: Navigation et Mise en Valeur de Côtes d'al-Andalus et du Maghreb Occidental*. (Paris, 1997), p.94. It is not entirely clear whether Ocsónoba refers just to the town of Faro (known as Santamariyya al-Garb until the eleventh century Christian conquest) or to the region of the Algarve more generally.

<sup>44</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, translated by Eliseo Vidal Beltrán, *Geografía de España: Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* (Zaragoza, 1982), p.39.

<sup>45</sup> Johannes Hendrik Kramers and Gaston Wiet (tr.), *Ibn Hawqal, Configuración de la tierra (Kitāb šūrat al-ard)*, 1 (Paris, 1965), pp.114-15.

<sup>46</sup> Helena Catarino, 'Minas e povoamento islâmico no Algarve oriental', in Canto García and Cressier (eds.), *Minas*, p.160.

<sup>47</sup> Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900* (New York, 2002), p.47, describes an important tin source in eastern Turkey which was greatly exploited in the Bronze Age. He notes that the site of the slag heaps is littered with ceramics including Islamic ceramics. However, as K.Aslihan Yener and Pamela Vandiver, who excavated the sites, note, in 'Reply to J.D.Muhly, "Early Bronze Age Tin and the Taurus"', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 97:2 (1993) p.261, these later (Byzantine and Islamic) ceramics were not found with associated mining debris and therefore cannot be interpreted as

Malaysia was known to Arab writers from the ninth century as a centre for many traded goods including tin.<sup>48</sup> Situated near the coast, the mines were on the maritime trade route linking the Islamic world with China.<sup>49</sup> This area may well have been the source for much of the early tin used in the Middle East.

By the tenth century, Kelah had become a central market point and an important entrepot for international traders, particularly Arabs en route to China.<sup>50</sup> The tenth-century Arab writer Abū Zaid, who lived at Siraf on the Persian Gulf, listed Kelah as the centre of trade for many goods including tin. He wrote that:

'Kalah [sic] is the centre of commerce for aloeswood, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, baqamwood, spice of all kinds and a host of objects too numerous to count. It is thither that the trading expeditions which start from Oman nowadays go, and from here trading expeditions start for the country of the Arabs.'<sup>51</sup>

Evidence of the exportation of tin from Kelah from the fourteenth century is noted by Abū al-Fidā, who wrote in 1331 that:

'Tin is exported from there [Kelah], which bears its name. [...] There is a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims, Indians and Persians. Mines of tin can be found there...'<sup>52</sup>

As the tin glazing technique seems to have moved west from Iraq to Egypt and to Spain, the potters' source of tin may have travelled alongside the technique. If the impulse for Andalusī potters to produce tin-glazed ceramics came from imitating imported tin-glazed techniques and ceramics from the Abbasid and Fatimid east, the source of tin oxide used by the Abbasid and Fatimid potters (probably the Malay peninsula) may also have been transmitted to al-Andalus.

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an indication that mining took place at this time. The presence of tin in the ground does not necessarily mean that the material was exploited at any one time. I am grateful to Dr Peregrine Horden for drawing my attention to these possible sources.

<sup>48</sup>The exact modern identification of Kelah has been disputed, but Gerard R. Tibbetts *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (Leiden, 1979) p.128, places it somewhere between Phuket and Kelang on the western coastline of the Thai/Malaysian peninsula. It has been identified more specifically as South Kedah (which falls within Tibbetts' geographical identification) by authors including Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h and Victoria Hobson (tr.), *The Malay Peninsula. Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road (100BC-1300AD)* (Leiden, 2002) p.197.

<sup>49</sup> Penhallurick, *Tin*, p.51.

<sup>50</sup> Tibbetts, *Arab Texts*, p.20-21.

<sup>51</sup> Tibbetts, *Arab Texts*, p.33.

<sup>52</sup> Tibbetts, *Arab Texts*, p.63.

However it is likely that the potters of al-Andalus who used this tin glaze technique found their own sources for raw materials closer to home, established sources which they would have taken over and exploited, and which would probably have been more economical than importing tin from far-away Kelah. Despite the lack of supporting evidence for extensive tin mining in al-Andalus - which has more to do with the current state of archaeological research in Spain than with a failure to find evidence - it is likely that tin from Galicia and Ocsónoba was the main source of tin for the early rulers of al-Andalus.

However, documentary evidence which shows the history of trading relations between Britain and the Mediterranean suggests that by the time the Paterna potters were making tin glazes in the early fourteenth century, large quantities of tin were being traded from southwest England to the Mediterranean regions, by Catalan and Italian merchants.<sup>53</sup>

The only place where tin is found in Britain is in Cornwall and Devon (henceforth 'the southwest'). Archaeological finds in the southwest show that a certain amount of tin was mined continuously since the Late Bronze Age.<sup>54</sup> It is possible that this tin from the southwest reached as far as the Mediterranean and beyond long before the medieval trade began.

Two documentary sources give tantalising hints that tin from the southwest was exported in the seventh century. A contemporary biographer of John the Almoner, Patriarch of Alexandria (d.616), recorded that an Alexandrian seaman took grain to Britain (i.e. Cornwall) during a famine and returned with a boat full of tin.<sup>55</sup> Also in the

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<sup>53</sup> Hatcher, *English Tin*, p.91.

<sup>54</sup> Hatcher, *English Tin*, pp.10-11.

<sup>55</sup> Hedges, *Tin*, p.12, where Hedges refers to a passage in Leontius, *Vita S. Johannis Eleemos*, ix.30-1. However, the cargo of tin had become silver by the time it reached its destination in the report, so this reference remains doubtful - Davies, *Roman Mines*, p.148.

seventh century, Stephanos of Alexandria wrote a treatise on alchemy, in which he refers to tin as 'the Brittanic metal', which probably refers to the southwest.<sup>56</sup>

Cornish tin was considered royal property for tax purposes, which may be why tin mines were not mentioned in the Domesday Survey of 1086. Tin mines are first mentioned in official documents in the 1156 Pipe Rolls (written financial records of the audit process of the King's accounts, begun in 1130), showing a production of around sixty tons in the year 1156. Following the tax records, Hedges has estimated production of around 266 tons in 1169 and 320 tons in 1171.<sup>57</sup> These figures indicate that the demand for tin and its subsequent mining and trade from the southwest, increased dramatically in the twelfth century. Across Europe, tin was used in the fashionable pewter vessels, bells for church towers and as an alloy in bronze for armaments.<sup>58</sup>

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the trading ports of southwest France (La Rochelle and Bordeaux in particular) were important centres of redistribution. From there, the tin followed ancient routes to the Mediterranean ports of Marseilles and Narbonne, from where it was traded across the Mediterranean to ports including Alexandria and Acre.<sup>59</sup>

By the fourteenth century, Italian merchants had opened up direct sea routes to Flanders and England around the Atlantic coast. Customs accounts from the period show that they were responsible for most of the bulk export of tin from the English ports of London and Southampton as well as through smaller ports in the southwest. The

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<sup>56</sup> Penhallurick, *Tin*, p.10. For a discussion of the trade and industry in England at this time see John R. Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', *Past and Present*, 123 (Oxford, 1989), pp.3-51.

<sup>57</sup> Hedges, *Tin*, p.10. Hatcher, *English Tin*, p.18 notes however that temporary cessations of production around 1086 may also explain their absence from Domesday.

<sup>58</sup> Hedges, *Tin*, p.64.

<sup>59</sup> Hatcher, *English Tin*, p.40.

<sup>61</sup> Hatcher, *English Tin*, pp.92-97.

statute of 1378 allowed merchants from Catalonia, Aragon, Venice and Genoa as well as other kingdoms to export tin (as well as wool, lead and other goods) directly from English ports if they took them to destinations east of Calais.<sup>61</sup> In 1412 the Venetian Senate decreed the fitting out of four galley ships for the trading of tin with London.<sup>62</sup> According to customs accounts from Southampton, between 1379 and 1438 an average of 200 thousandweights of tin and pewter was exported from the port each year, of which 90% was handled by Genoese and Catalan merchants.<sup>63</sup>

By the fourteenth century European tin, probably from the southwest, was being exported as far as Iran for ceramic glazing. In his treatise of 1301, Abū'l-Qāsim of Kashan in Iran wrote that tin, known as *al-raṣāṣ* in Arabic,<sup>64</sup> came from three places.<sup>65</sup> The first was Farangistan (Frankenland, or Europe), where it was cast in pieces and stamped to prevent adulteration. Tin was also brought from China in large pieces and from the Bulgars in thin sheets. Allan explains that Frankenland could mean England, Saxony or Spain – it simply refers to Europe. We therefore know that in the fourteenth century, Iranian potters looked to several sources, including distant Europe, for this precious ingredient.

We know that potters in sixteenth-century Italy probably used tin from the southwest in their glazes. Piccolpasso wrote his treatise on pottery, *Li tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*, in Urbino around 1547-48.<sup>66</sup> He used first-hand observation to describe the methods and recipes used to make *maiolica*, the tin-glaze on earthenware technique which

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<sup>62</sup> Hedges, *Tin*, p.16

<sup>63</sup> Hatcher, *English Tin*, p.98.

<sup>64</sup> The word for 'tin' in Andalusi Arabic is *kaṣḍr*. See Federico Corriente, *Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, (Leiden, 1997) p.430. However, in classical Arabic tin is *raṣāṣ kaḥī* or *al-raṣāṣ al-kaḥī* from the word for 'lead' (*usrub, raṣāṣ*) and the word *kaḥī* which probably refers to the region of Kelah in the Malay peninsula. See entry for "Kaḥī, Kaḥī" by M. Streck in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, P. Bearman and Th. Bianquis and C.E. Bosworth and E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (eds.) (Leiden, 2009) accessed at [Brill Online](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-3828). School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) 26 January 2009.

[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-3828](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-3828).

<sup>65</sup> Allan, 'Abu'l-Qasim', pp.111-120

<sup>66</sup> Bernard Rackham and Albert Van de Put (eds.), *The Three Books of the Potter's Art by Cavaliere Cipriano Piccolpasso of Castel Durante (1524-1579). In the original Italian with translation and introduction by Bernard Rackham and Albert Van de Put* (London, 1934).

reached Italy around the thirteenth century. The tin glaze recipe used by the potters observed by Piccolpasso was probably very similar to that used by the Mudéjar potters in Valencia.<sup>67</sup> Piccolpasso wrote:

‘That quantity of tin is taken which is required and this, for the best result, should be Flanders tin, and is melted in an iron ladle.’<sup>68</sup>

‘Flanders’ tin can be interpreted as tin from the southwest, which was traded through Flanders.<sup>69</sup>

There is no specific evidence which tells us about the sources of tin used by the Paterna potters. The southwest was suggested by de Osma, who noted that tin was imported in ingots and bars from England to the Balearic Islands, on the return journey of the Venetian ships, the Flanders galleys mentioned above.<sup>70</sup> However, no further evidence for this trade was mentioned. Ray notes (without elaborating) that the greater availability of tin in the thirteenth century played a large part in the development of the ceramics industry in Paterna, but does not specifically mention the southwest as a possible source of this tin.<sup>71</sup>

Documentary evidence of the trade of tin as a valuable material in Valencia, and of potters being paid in kind with tin from French merchants buying ceramics, detailed below, indicates that the southwest tin trade was a likely source for the potters. While other tin sources including native Iberian tin may have also been used to a certain extent, the northerly trade routes through the Mediterranean and Atlantic as well as through France were well established by the fourteenth century and would have allowed a reliable supply of the material to reach the Paterna potters.

Tin is mentioned among the restricted items traded through the kingdom of Valencia on which tax had to be paid to the Crown of Aragon. These customs documents are part

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<sup>67</sup> Caiger-Smith, *Tin-glaze*, p. 205.

<sup>68</sup> Rackham and Van de Put (eds.), *Piccolpasso* p.32.

<sup>69</sup> Caiger-Smith, *Tin-glaze*, p. 101.

<sup>70</sup> De Osma, *Los Maestros*, p.38-39 n.4.

<sup>71</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, p. 41.

of the Archivo del Reino de Valencia (section Maestre Racional, no. 11), which deal with the exports made from Valencia during the year 1393. These exports mostly went to the kingdom of Castile by land, as well as by sea to the Balearic Islands, Catalan coasts, north Africa and Italy (Pisa or Genoa). Although Mallorca and Catalonia were part of the Aragonese crown, for tax purposes they were considered 'foreign'. In 1393, a particularly large quantity of goods was recorded as having moved across these borders, with over 2,500 records of exports to 54 different destinations. Within these, there are 118 instances of tin being exported (meaning tin which had come into Valencia and was subsequently moved out of the region). For example, a contract states that Hamet, a Muslim, traded tin from Valencia to Teruel, sending six *roves* of lead and 14 *lliures* of tin.<sup>72</sup> The fact that a clearly Muslim individual, Hamet, was trading tin from Valencia to Teruel, suggests that he may have been involved in the ceramics trade in Teruel.

Documents from the archives of Valencia show that the potters of Manises and Paterna were often paid in kind with tin, as well as with other materials such as textiles, cobalt and lead. This was not an unusual practice in medieval craft workshops, but it shows us how tin may have been obtained by the Paterna potters. A contract from 1325 documents the agreement between Mahomet Bensuleyman and another *saracen* from Manises, which promises to deliver to Doña Raimunda of Valencia their year's production of glazed pottery, and stipulates the payment of every kiln load they deliver and the payment in advance of lead and tin for the following kiln load.<sup>73</sup> In 1417, a merchant from Montpellier, Joan Lorenç, paid the potter Hacen Muça in lead, tin and cobalt to undertake work which he was to deliver to the port of Valencia in two months.<sup>74</sup> This indicates that the potters were obtaining their tin from merchants, and judging from the names of the merchants, that the merchants were Christians. The fact

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<sup>72</sup> Ferrer Navarro, *Cosas vedades*, p.12, contract number 26. For customs accounts and trade within Aragon see also Miguel Gual Camarena *Vocabulario del comercio medieval: colección de aranceles aduaneros de la Corona de Aragón, siglos XIII y XIV* (Barcelona, Ediciones 'El Albir', 1976).

<sup>73</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones*, p.18.

<sup>74</sup> López Elum, *La producción*, p.30.

that some of the merchants were from southern France, such as the aforementioned Lorenç, suggests that direct contacts with the tin merchants who were documented as trading through the southern French ports was very likely.

It is important to discover where the supply of tin was from, because it may have had a direct impact on the style of pottery made by the potters in Paterna. Rather than restricting the use of tin glaze to the sporadic production of glazed ware, which is how the potters in caliphal and taifa al-Andalus seem to have worked, they could glaze the interior surfaces of all their decorated tableware. While potters in al-Andalus also decorated their earthenware using techniques such as *sgraffito* and partial and full *cuerda seca*, the Paterna potters could use tin glaze almost exclusively to decorate their large quantities of pottery destined for use as tableware for a mixed population of well of Muslim and Christian patrons. This suggests that tin was readily available to the potters and that they could rely enough on their supply to allow them to decorate all their tableware with a tin glaze.

This use of tin glazing on large quantities of ceramics in Paterna may have been made possible by new supplies of tin, which was suddenly more readily available, cheaper and reliable than in previous times.<sup>75</sup> For the potters in al-Andalus, tin was a scarce material, which was found in small amounts locally and possibly even imported from the Far East. It was not until the opening up of trade routes by the Italian merchants in the thirteenth century, that the new supply of tin allowed the potters in Paterna to develop an industry that focused on producing greater volumes of tin-glazed tableware than ever before.<sup>76</sup> Tracing the source of tin demonstrates the international links that helped to create this ceramics industry. The potters were not just using ingredients that they could find nearby; instead they were investing in an imported material to develop

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<sup>75</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, p.41.

<sup>76</sup> I have discussed this increase in tin production with Rachel Ward, who has noted a similar increase in tin content in Islamic metalwork at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This new source of tin may have had more impact on Mediterranean crafts than has previously been acknowledged and is something which needs to be explored further.



their new style of tin-glazed pottery.

### **Pigments**

Tin oxide was itself a kind of a pigment within the glaze, which coloured the clay white. But other pigments were also used in Paterna ware that were sourced locally but brought with them their own technical properties. The tin glaze applied to biscuit-fired ceramics left an absorbent, dry surface onto which brown from manganese oxide (MnO) and green from copper oxide (CuO) could be painted. The glaze and pigments vitrified together after the second and final firing process.

There is some debate as to whether the pigments were painted under or over the tin glaze. Caiger-Smith suggested that much of the early Paterna ware used the underglaze technique.<sup>77</sup> This is the technique in which the clay body is fired, then the pigment is applied, followed by the glaze *on top* of the pigment, after which both are fired for a second time. When the pigment is painted under the glaze, it diffuses into the glaze and can be seen through it after the firing.

This underglaze technique was certainly known in Paterna. It was used for many (though not all) of the ceramics decorated with cobalt, during the fourteenth century, as shown conclusively by Coll and others.<sup>78</sup> However, cobalt is a strong colour, which can easily and clearly be seen from under the tin glaze.

There is no evidence for the use of this underglaze technique with the copper green and manganese brown pigments of Paterna ware. In particular there are no discarded sherds that might have been decorated with green and brown before the application of the tin glaze. Molera conducted extensive laboratory research on the techniques and

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<sup>77</sup> Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glaze*, p.208.

<sup>78</sup> Clodoaldo Roldan and Coll and José Lorenzo Ferrero and David Juanes, 'Identification of overglaze and underglaze cobalt decoration of ceramics from Valencia by portable EDXRF spectrometry', *X-Ray Spectrometry* 33:1 (2004) pp.28-32. Also Coll and Ferrero and Juanes and Roldan, 'Caracterización del cobalto en mayólicas valenciana. Aspectos de tecnología productiva y su evolución (ss.XIV-XIX)', *XXXV Convegno Internazionale della Cerámica*, Albisola 2002 (Albisola, 2003) pp.63-70.

production methods used at Paterna, which showed that the green and brown ware was painted using an overglaze technique. The concentration of pigments (CuO and MnO) were measured in a cross-section of glazed ceramics under electron microprobe, or WDS,<sup>79</sup> which showed that the pigments were more concentrated at the surface of the glaze, and dispersed in concentration as they measured nearer to the clay surface.<sup>80</sup> This concentration near the surface of the glaze and not beneath the glaze indicates that the pigments were applied over the tin glaze.

Molera noted that in her laboratory experiments she found that green and brown pigments could in theory be applied under the glaze, but that this technique resulted in a smudged image.<sup>81</sup>

The two pigments used in Paterna ware, copper oxide and manganese oxide, behave differently when heated in the kiln. Whereas manganese oxide when heated to below 1080°C behaves as an anti-flux and has a retardant effect in a glaze, copper oxide dissolves easily in a heated glaze and tends to bleed into the surrounding glaze.<sup>82</sup> It is probably for this reason, as well as for aesthetic reasons, that in Paterna ware, the manganese brown is usually (but not always) used to outline a decorative motif which is then filled with the copper green colour; this way of containing the pigments must not be confused with *cuerda seca* technique however, as only a small amount of diffusion happens with the green pigment, while the brown is frequently used to draw entire sections of the motif without green infill.

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<sup>79</sup> The electron microprobe, or WDS, can give a chemical profile across an interface. It analyses the chemicals by measuring the wavelength of the X-rays from a sample. See Carter and Norton, *Ceramic Materials* p.172.

<sup>80</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.254. See the table in *Figura 191*.

<sup>81</sup> Personal email communication with Judit Molera dated 28.7.2009.

<sup>82</sup> Hamer, *The Potter's Dictionary* pp.81 and 227.

## Techniques: Glazing, fritting, glaze composition and firing<sup>83</sup>

### Glazing

Paterna ware was fully decorated between the first and second firing cycles. Following the initial biscuit firing, the vessel was painted with the tin glaze, after which it was decorated with the pigments. Both the tin glaze and the pigments were painted onto the biscuit-fired body before it was fired for a second time. The tin glaze dried onto the biscuit-fired vessel leaving a powdery finish. The motifs were then painted on using mineral pigments. The open forms (bowls and plates) were glazed on the interior surface only, with the exterior left unglazed. The closed forms (such as jars) were sometimes glazed around the mouth on the interior, but usually both the interior and base were left unglazed.

### How was the glaze made?

Tin glaze is a lead-based glaze to which tin oxide has been added. In Spanish a distinction is made between transparent lead glaze, which is called *barniz*, and an opaque tin glaze, called *esmalte*. Transparent glazes in eastern Spain were lead-based glazes. Lead, in the form of galena, the widely found lead ore mineral, was added to sand (specifically quartz sand, or  $\text{SiO}_2$ ) to lower the melting point of sand, which alone is  $1450^\circ\text{C}$ . The mix of sand with lead in proportions of 30% to 70%, gives a combined melting point of  $730^\circ\text{C}$ . For this reason, lead-based glazes (including tin glaze) can be fired at lower temperatures.<sup>84</sup> A high lead-oxide content also has a lower thermal expansion rate, which reduces the risk of the glaze crazing.<sup>85</sup>

In eighth-century glazes from Iraq, the lead content was only one to two per cent. This content increased until it reached 30-45% in the ninth-century Baghdad group, where

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<sup>83</sup> I am grateful to the potter John Hudson for explaining to me in detail (both at the Medieval Pottery Research Group conference in Siena, July 2008, and subsequent telephone conversations) the practicalities of glazing and fritting in medieval times.

<sup>84</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.249.

<sup>85</sup> Tite *et al*, 'Discovery', p.73.

the opacification of the glaze was entirely due to the presence of tin oxide particles.<sup>86</sup> The glazes from tenth-century Fatimid Egypt contained typically 25-35% lead; similar levels to those found in Paterna ware.

Similarly, the tin-oxide particle concentration in the Paterna glazes falls within a level to that found in glazes from Fatimid Egypt and Islamic Spain, at between 4 and 15%.<sup>87</sup> Chemical and mineralogical analysis was carried out on unglazed, lead-glazed and tin-glazed ceramics excavated at the *Ollerías Mayores* and *Ollerías Menores* sites.<sup>88</sup> The optical properties of tin glazes were analysed by Vendrell *et al*, in a study which used two Islamic pottery sherds from Murcia, four sherds from Paterna (including blue and lustre, blue and white and green and brown Paterna ware), as well as 20 Islamic pottery sherds from Iraq (eighth to tenth century), Egypt (tenth to eleventh century) and Turkey (sixteenth-century Iznik ware), as well as for Italian maiolica (fourteenth to fifteenth century).<sup>89</sup>

The results show that while tin oxide concentrations ranged from 2.9% to 8% for the samples from Iraq, the Egyptian sherds ranged from 5.4% to 15.5%, the Murcia sherds from 5% to 10% and the Paterna sherds averaged at 5% to 14%. These tests were carried out on a small number of pieces (26 in total) so do not give more than a general idea of the tin-oxide levels for each region.<sup>90</sup> However, they are relevant to the study of Paterna ware glaze technology, as they show that the tin-oxide concentration in the glazes used in early Fatimid Egypt, Islamic Spain and fourteenth century Paterna were very similar, which indicates a continuity of technique and glaze recipe.

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<sup>86</sup> Mason and Tite, 'The Beginnings of Tin Opacification', p.51.

<sup>87</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical Properties', p.336 Table 1. Also Molera *et al*, 'Características' in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.254.

<sup>88</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características' in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p. 249.

<sup>89</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical Properties'.

<sup>90</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical Properties', p.336 Table 1.

## **Fritting**

Fritting is the process of preparing the glaze, in which the glaze ingredients are heated to melting point, left to harden and then ground down into small particles.<sup>91</sup> This process of melting and grinding down the raw ingredients of the glaze gives the potter more control over the melting temperature of the glaze during firing and reduces the volatility of lead.<sup>92</sup> In tin glazes, fritting produces a more homogenous distribution of tin oxide crystals in the fired glaze.<sup>93</sup> This fritting process was used in Islamic ceramics including glazes from caliphal and taifa al-Andalus; Paterna ware glazes were also prepared using a fritting process.

To frit a lead glaze, the lead, or galena, was cooked in a small kiln or furnace for seven hours while being stirred continuously. The fritting kiln is a small structure, known in Spanish as an *armeles*.<sup>94</sup> Once this cooled it was cooked again in the lower part of the kiln, the *sagen*, together with quartz sand, to form a kind of glass. This was ground down and refined to a fine grain, which was suspended in water to make the transparent glaze. Tin was added to make this glaze opaque. The lead was melted in the furnace to which the tin was subsequently added as it was being stirred. The lead and tin heated together formed a lead stannate ( $\text{PbSnO}_3$ ), which when heated to temperatures of 600-700°C allows the tin oxide to recrystallise, the tin forming tiny crystals now suspended in the silicon lead ( $\text{SiO}_2\text{-PbO}$ ) glaze suspension.<sup>95</sup>

Sand, salt and potash were subsequently added (as well as other ingredients such as the stabilizing mineral alumina, or aluminium oxide at a weight of around five per

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<sup>91</sup> For a detailed look at the fritting process and its uses see Frank and Janet Hamer, *The Potter's Dictionary of Materials and Techniques*, p.156.

<sup>92</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.258.

<sup>93</sup> Molera and Vendrell-Saz and Pérez-Arantegui, 'Chemical and Textural Characterization of Tin Glazes in Islamic Ceramics from Eastern Spain', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 28:3 (2001) p.339.

<sup>94</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias', p.331 and p.337. The word *armeles* refers to the fritting kiln, from the Arabic *al-mallāh* for hot ashes used to make bread, also in Andalucía *malla* is a word used for a bread oven; Federico Corriente, 'Arabismos del Catalán y Otras Voces de Origen Semítico o Medio-Oriental', *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* (Zaragoza, 1997) p.23.

<sup>95</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.253.

cent.<sup>96</sup> This mixture was then ground down and refined.<sup>97</sup> Finally, the ground frit was used on its own or mixed with sand, then added to water to make a suspension into which the biscuit fired vessels were dipped.<sup>98</sup>

In her experiments on tin glazes from Spain from the tenth to fourteenth centuries, Molera has concluded that tin glazes were prepared as frits in pottery workshops until the thirteenth century, but that raw materials were not fritted after the fourteenth century.<sup>99</sup> The tin glaze of ceramics made in medieval Teruel show a heterogeneous distribution of tin oxide (cassiterite) crystals within the glaze, which indicates that the tin oxide was *not* fritted, but added after the lead glaze alone had been fritted.<sup>100</sup> However Molera, along with Mesquida, dates the early green and brown Paterna ware to the *thirteenth* century, which means that she groups Paterna ware among the ceramics which did use fritted tin glazes, linking them directly with glazed ware from caliphal and taifa al-Andalus.<sup>101</sup>

The well-documented use of frit ovens (small kilns) and their excavation in medieval contexts indicates that glazes *were* indeed fritted in both Paterna and Manises.<sup>102</sup> Coll confirms that given the physical evidence from Paterna, which attests to the knowledge and use of the fritting process, as well as the homogeneous distribution of tin-oxide crystals in early Paterna glazes, frits were probably used in medieval Paterna and Manises.<sup>103</sup>

Molera *et al* have examined the composition of frits found during the excavations at Paterna. In the workshops dating to the earliest period of Mudéjar occupation in both large excavation sites, fragments were found of the pots used to make the frits

<sup>96</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.249.

<sup>97</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, pp.45-46.

<sup>98</sup> This process of making frits is explained in numerous places see Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.258.

<sup>99</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Chemical and Textural', p.339.

<sup>100</sup> Pérez-Arantegui *et al*, 'La Tecnología de la Cerámica Mudéjar', p.95.

<sup>101</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Chemical and Textural', p.339.

<sup>102</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.259. For Manises see Coll and Pérez Camps, 'Aspectos de la técnica de fabricación en la cerámica de Manises' *IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, 3, Alicante 1993 (Alicante 1994), pp.879-884.

<sup>103</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias', p.326.

('crisoles') with drops of frit left on the interior walls. They studied over 30 examples under optical and electronic microscopes to determine their composition. The results show:

50% weight of lead (PbO)

38% weight of silicon dioxide, or quartz sand (SiO<sub>2</sub>)

7.6% weight of tin dioxide, or cassiterite (SnO<sub>2</sub>)

2% weight of alumina (Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>)<sup>104</sup>

No remains of lead mixed with tin alone were found, or of metallic lead or tin, which indicates that the potters fritted all the ingredients together rather than first mixing the lead and tin in a separate process. The frit mixture outlined above is richer in lead than the final glaze – sand was added to the frit to raise the melting temperature, which reduces the percentage weight of lead in the final glaze recipe.<sup>105</sup>

### **Analysing the glaze composition**

Certain features of the tin particles within the glazes have been identified which could help to differentiate between geographical centres of production or chronological phases of production. Molera has suggested that the size, distribution pattern and concentration of tin oxide crystals within a glaze could function as a kind of fingerprint, providing evidence of the particular processes of mixing the glaze, firing and handling of the ceramic used in a workshop.<sup>106</sup> While tin glazes from the ninth to thirteenth centuries in al-Andalus (as well as those from Paterna ware) contain homogeneously distributed crystals,<sup>107</sup> created by the fritting of the raw materials before the glaze is applied to the body, an examination of Nasrid and late Mudéjar glazes shows crystals which were more heterogeneous in their distribution, in other words the crystals

<sup>104</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.256 Table 17. This is a recipe based on the average composition of frits from both Paterna sites.

<sup>105</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.260.

<sup>106</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Chemical and Textural', p.334.

<sup>107</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.253.

remained grouped in clusters within the glaze.<sup>108</sup> This clustering suggests that there are remains of the raw tin oxide grains in the glaze, which could indicate that the glaze was not fritted before use. The heterogeneous pattern of distribution, Molera suggests, indicates a less accurate technique of preparation with an incomplete melting of the glaze.<sup>109</sup> This small change in the method of glaze preparation indicates perhaps an industrialisation of the glazed ceramics industry in the mid to late fourteenth century, as fritting a glaze takes time and effort, which may be saved by not fritting which results in a similar glaze finish with a thick application.

The identification of the percentage concentration of tin in the glaze is also helpful for comparing techniques among regions and workshops. For opacification to be achieved successfully, tin oxide concentrations of 4-15 per cent are normally necessary<sup>110</sup> (these are the levels that are found in the workshops of Paterna<sup>111</sup>).

Glaze samples of tin-glazed pottery made in al-Andalus were found to contain tin oxide levels in the range of 4-15 per cent, similar to those from Fatimid Egypt. When Mudéjar ceramics from Valencia, including lustre-painted and blue and white ware as well as Paterna ware ceramics were examined, similar levels of 4-15 per cent tin oxide concentrations were found.<sup>112</sup> However, when Paterna ware is examined apart from the Mudéjar, blue and white glazed and lustre-painted ware, the tin oxide level is relatively low, averaging around 6.5 per cent.<sup>113</sup> Although low, this figure is still within the same range as that used in ceramics from Fatimid Egypt and from caliphal and taifa al-Andalus, indicating a continuity of the Islamic technique in Paterna.

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<sup>108</sup> Molera, 'Evolució mineralogical i interacció de les pastes càlciques amb els vidriats de plom: Interaccions arqueomètriques' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Barcelona: University of Barcelona, 1996).

<sup>109</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Chemical and Textural', p.338.

<sup>110</sup> Molera, 'Característiques Tècniques', p. 54.

<sup>111</sup> Mason and Tite, 'The Beginnings of Tin Opacification', pp. 49-50.

<sup>112</sup> Molera *et al* 'Chemical and Textural', pp.331-340.

<sup>113</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Característiques', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.255.



A tin-opacified glaze is typically 100-500µm thick (100-500 microns – a micron is one thousandth of a millimetre).<sup>114</sup> Analysis of samples of Paterna ware glazes shows a thickness from sixty microns in the pinkest of opaque glazes (those which have not achieved full opacity and therefore reveal some of the pinkness of the underlying clay) to 120 microns in the whitest of the glazes.<sup>115</sup> This rather thin glaze with relatively low tin oxide concentrations was nevertheless adequate for covering the underlying clay colour and providing a white base onto which the pigments could be applied. The use of this thin glaze with relatively low tin oxide concentrations, suggests that tin was a valuable commodity, an expensive material which had to be imported; the potters in Paterna were glazing large quantities of tableware - theirs was not a sporadic production of luxury ware.

### **Firing Process**

There is some ambiguity at this stage over whether Paterna ware was subjected to an initial biscuit firing before the main glaze firing or not.<sup>116</sup> Glazed earthenware ceramics are biscuit fired because it is necessary to remove water and volatile impurities from the clay for a more stable application of the tin glaze, as Caiger-Smith explains.<sup>117</sup> The results of analysis of Paterna ware under electronic microscope suggest that it was indeed fired twice: a low density of glaze nearer the ceramic body, as well as low levels of lead in the tin glaze and a clear difference between the ceramic body and glaze at the interface of both, indicate an initial biscuit firing.<sup>118</sup>

However, it is more likely that in hot climates such as that of Valencia, potters would have wanted to avoid the expense of fuel for an initial firing by drying their ware in the sun (although probably not directly in the midday sun for initial drying as this may

<sup>114</sup> Vendrell *et al*, 'Optical properties', p.327.

<sup>115</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.255.

<sup>116</sup> Indeed, Abū'l-Qāsim does not mention an initial firing in his otherwise detailed description of the lustre process, and there is some disagreement as to whether it was common practice in medieval ceramic production. I am grateful to Dr Melanie Gibson for discussing her findings on this question with me. See Melanie Gibson, '*Takūk and Timthāl*': *A study of glazed ceramic sculpture from Iran and Syria circa 1150-1250* (unpublished doctoral thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies 2010) p. 95.

<sup>117</sup> Caiger-Smith, *Tin-glaze*, p.204.

<sup>118</sup> Molera *et al*, 'Características', in Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.253

cause cracking).<sup>119</sup> During the hotter months, this would achieve the same effect as a biscuit firing in the kiln. Indeed, It is possible that the practice in Paterna ware of applying glaze to a single surface only, and not to the reverse or inside, may have developed in order to allow the potters to complete in a single firing. When a glaze is applied to both surfaces of a vessel that has not been biscuit-fired, it can cause a tin glaze to turn black due to impurities in the clay.<sup>120</sup>

For the glazed firing, archaeological evidence indicates that both glazed and unglazed ware was fired in the same kiln type - glazed ware was put into the same kiln as unglazed ware and subjected to the same firing process. We know this from finds of unglazed ware that has been splashed with tin glaze from glazed ware that was being fired in the kiln at the same time.<sup>121</sup> Coll notes that the unglazed ware was placed on the edge of the kiln, surrounding and protecting the glazed ware, which was placed in the middle.<sup>122</sup>

Paterna ware was fired to a temperature of over 900°C. This is clear from the presence of certain minerals in the clay body, which indicates that this temperature must have been reached in the kilns.<sup>123</sup> The kilns rarely reached over 1000°C, although some samples show evidence of having exceeded this temperature, probably because of where the particular pieces were situated within the kiln, as the temperature fluctuated according to how close the piece was to the heat source. Most pieces in the kiln were fired to between 900°C and 950°C.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> The potters may have varied their firing practices according to season, employing an initial biscuit firing during the colder months while relying on the heat of the sun during the summer.

<sup>120</sup> Personal email communication with Molera (September 2009).

<sup>121</sup> Coll and Pérez Camps, 'Aspectos de la técnica', pp 879-889.

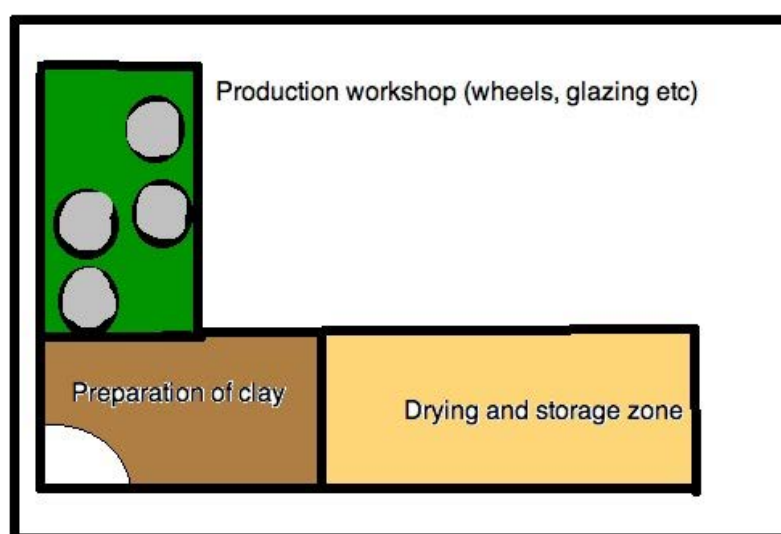
<sup>122</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias' p.313.

<sup>123</sup> Molera, 'Características Técnicas', p.157.

<sup>124</sup> Molera, 'Características Técnicas', pp.158-159.

## Workshops

An inventory document dated 1403 (see chapter eight) tells us that two groups of workshops existed in Paterna contemporaneously, the *Ollerías Mayores* and *Ollerías Menores*.<sup>125</sup> The workshops are described in the document as consisting of three dwellings which form a 'U' shape, which open out onto an open air patio in the space between them in which the kiln was located. The description coincides with the archaeological evidence that was excavated by Mesquida and Amigues at the Paterna sites.<sup>126</sup> From this evidence it is possible to describe how these workshops functioned. The interior space was divided into three areas with three distinct functions: the storage and treatment of clay, the area for pottery wheels, and the storage and drying of finished pieces awaiting firing.<sup>127</sup>



*Fig.60* Plan of a fourteenth-century ceramics workshop. (By the author, after Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.131.)

<sup>125</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones*, p.14.

<sup>126</sup> Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.130.

<sup>127</sup> Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.131.

### **Storage of the Clays**

Once the clay was dug from the ground it was stored and mixed in large exterior pits near the workshops where water was added, the clay was decanted and impurities were removed. These were oval pits of between three and six metres in length and 35 centimetres maximum depth. The clay was ground down with large stone rollers, which were found near to the storage pits.<sup>128</sup> The clay was sometimes left up to two or three years in these decantation pits for the water to evaporate.<sup>129</sup>

The decanted clay was then brought to a second storage pit, often within the interior workshop area, where it was kneaded for the first time on a layer of ash to prevent it sticking to the ground. Once the clay was ready to use it was put into small storage pits inside the workshop, of around one metre long by 50 to 80 centimetres deep.<sup>130</sup> These pits were near to where the potters worked on their wheels, where the clay was kept for immediate use by the potters on the wheel.

One clay quarry was found at the *Ollerías Mayores*, which had subsequently been filled in with discarded ceramics.<sup>131</sup> Three clay storage pits were excavated from this one workshop (a large workshop with five potters' wheels). Outside the workshop, various pits used to wet the clay and mix it were located. Within the workshop area were one decanting pit for ageing the clay and removing the excess water and another pit in the interior of the workshop for clay ready to use immediately by the potters.<sup>132</sup>

At the excavations of another workshop in the *Ollerías Mayores*, Mesquida describes a series of pits of varying sizes, which were used to mix, dampen, knead and dry the clay. One small pit was only 0.6m long and 0.3m wide and 0.45m deep at its deepest point. At the base was a complete earthenware jar. Mesquida speculates that this pit

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<sup>128</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.59.

<sup>129</sup> Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.130.

<sup>130</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.59.

<sup>131</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.51 no.26.

<sup>132</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.50.

was used to dry out the clay and that the jar was used to collect excess water from the base.<sup>133</sup>

Mesquida identified a smaller pit at the same workshop as a place to where the clay was brought after it had been in the large decantation pit.<sup>134</sup> Here it was mixed to specific recipes and kneaded to the correct plasticity. It was 6.5m long by 2m wide with a maximum depth of 0.65m. Like the larger pit, it had been filled in with ash and discarded ceramics.

### **Wheels**

A number of potters' wheel sites have been excavated within the workshop sites. The actual wooden structure of the potters' wheels has not survived, but the bases that supported them and the ceramic discs (*rodells*), which would have been placed on the wheel, have been found (see *Fig.4*). The wheels used in Paterna were semi-interred wheels, into which the potter would sit waist-deep in the ground. The sides of the walls of the semi-interred wheel were lined with fragments of ceramics to support the walls and help maintain them.

These were on average 1.5m in diameter and 0.3 to 0.5m deep.<sup>135</sup> Each wheel turned on a central axis, which sat in a mortar, set in a conical depression in the centre of the ground. The holes for these axes have been found, as well as bricks that may have supported it.<sup>136</sup> The wheels were made of wood, as we are told in a document dated 30 July 1476 from Valencia, which refers to *una roda de fust per fer scudelles* which means 'a wooden wheel to make bowls'.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.71 no.47.

<sup>134</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.51 fig.27.

<sup>135</sup> Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.131.

<sup>136</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.53.

<sup>137</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.59. Also Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.195 fig.156.

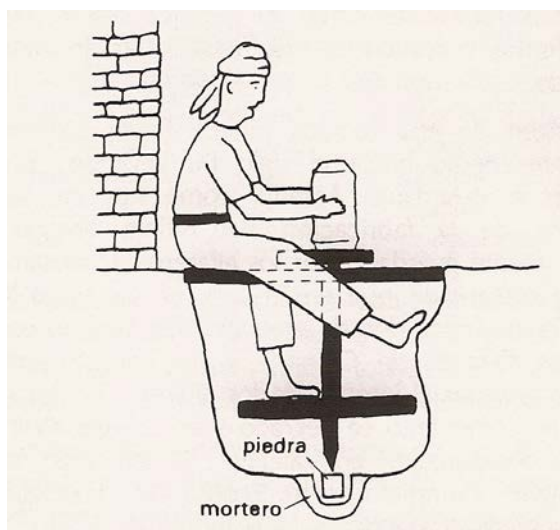


Fig.61 Drawing of a semi-interred pottery wheel in use. (From Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.131.)

In one workshop within the *Ollerías Mayores*, four wheels were excavated inside the workshop area. Their position in one corner of the workshop suggests that the rest of the space was left for working the clay, drying and decorating the ceramics.<sup>138</sup>

In a different workshop at the *Ollerías Mayores*, five wheels were excavated. They were around 1.3m wide with a depth of 0.3 to 0.4m. The centre was marked with a conical cavity of 0.4m deep and 0.3m wide. These five wheels would probably have been worked simultaneously.<sup>139</sup>

### **Tools**

The remains of a number of *rodells*, the circular ceramic discs that sat on the wheel and onto which the clay was thrown, have been found in excavation. These large, flat disks were made of undecorated fired ceramic and were used as a base on which large vessels could be turned, then transferred off the wheel to be dried (see Fig.4). Different sized discs were used, from thirty to sixty centimetres in diameter. The discs which have been excavated date from the fifteenth century; however similar disks were probably used to make the large earthenware jars in the fourteenth century.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.69-70.

<sup>139</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.50-51.

<sup>140</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.95

Many of the surviving disks have writing in Arabic inscribed into the clay surface across the middle or around the edge of the top side, the marks and signatures of the potters who made or used them. Some of these inscribed names have been identified including Hasan, Muhammad al-Wakl and Yusuf. Some of the disks also have marks in the centre, which may have been used to imprint on the base of the pot directly when it was thrown on the disk on the wheel.<sup>141</sup> Coll notes that the disks were more frequent in Paterna than in Manises, perhaps indicating the specialisation of Paterna workshops in these large storage jars.<sup>142</sup>

### **Kilns**

The turned vessels were dried in a designated area inside the workshop (although the pre-decoration drying process may have taken place outside, out of direct midday sun, in place of a biscuit firing).<sup>143</sup> Amigues estimates that these drying areas occupied between 50% and 75% of the workshop area, but that they were flexible spaces, which could have been used for other purposes if necessary.<sup>144</sup>

The type of kiln used in Paterna was the Arab style updraught kiln, a kiln design that had also been used for centuries throughout the Islamic world.<sup>145</sup> In his treatise of 1301, Abū'l-Qāsim of Kashan in Iran, described a similar updraught kiln to those found at Paterna and this type seems to have been continuously used from pre-Islamic times to today in the central Islamic lands.<sup>146</sup> An updraught kiln is a two-chamber structure, with a lower combustion chamber where the fuel is placed, and an upper chamber in which the ceramics are placed, the two levels separated from each other by a perforated floor. The heat rises through the upper chamber and escapes through vents

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<sup>141</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.212 Fig.173 shows the base of a large basin with the imprint of a mark in reverse on the base.

<sup>142</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.61.

<sup>143</sup> Amigues, 'La Cerámica' p.131.

<sup>144</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, *Les Ateliers et la Céramique de Paterna (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, (Béziers, 1993) p.28.

<sup>145</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, pp.99-103. Also Mesquida and Amigues, *Un horno*.

<sup>146</sup> James W. Allan, 'Abu'l-Qasim's Treatise on Ceramics', *Iran* 11 (1973) pp.111-20. For Valencia see Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.42.

in the kiln roof or a chimney. Although the upper level was where most of the ceramics were located, some unglazed ware was also fired in the lower section on a bank known in Spanish as the *sagén*.<sup>147</sup>

There were holes in the domed roof of the upper level to let out the smoke. The fire was placed below ground to the side of the kiln, while the upper section occupied around two thirds of the entire structure.<sup>148</sup> In Paterna, the excavated kilns measured on average 4.4m long by 2m deep and 2m high, but varied greatly in size.<sup>149</sup>

The structure was built from clay bricks and the surface lined with adobe.

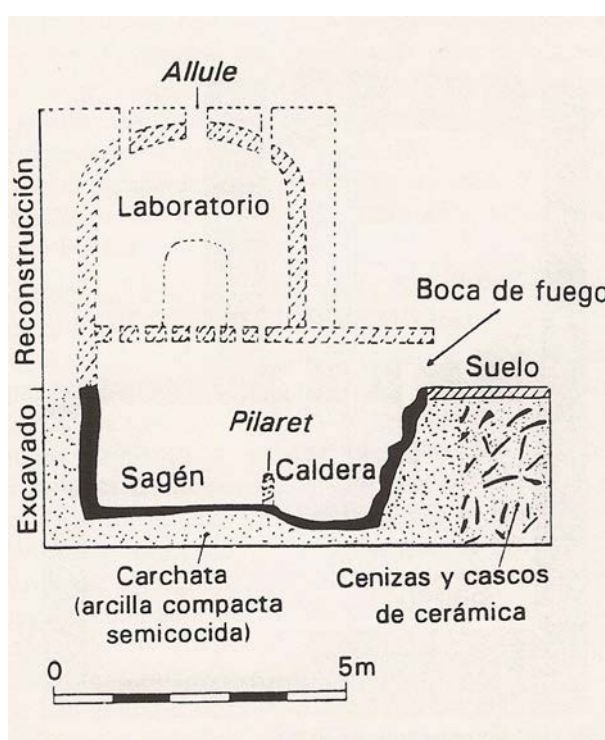


Fig.62 Diagram of a reconstructed Arab updraught kiln from the fourteenth century, showing the lower section, which would be visible in archaeological excavations, and a reconstruction of the upper section which was mostly destroyed by the time of excavation. (From Amigues, 'La Cerámica', p.135).

The ceramics were placed in the upper level, separated from each other by earthenware tripods, of which many have been excavated at the sites in Paterna.

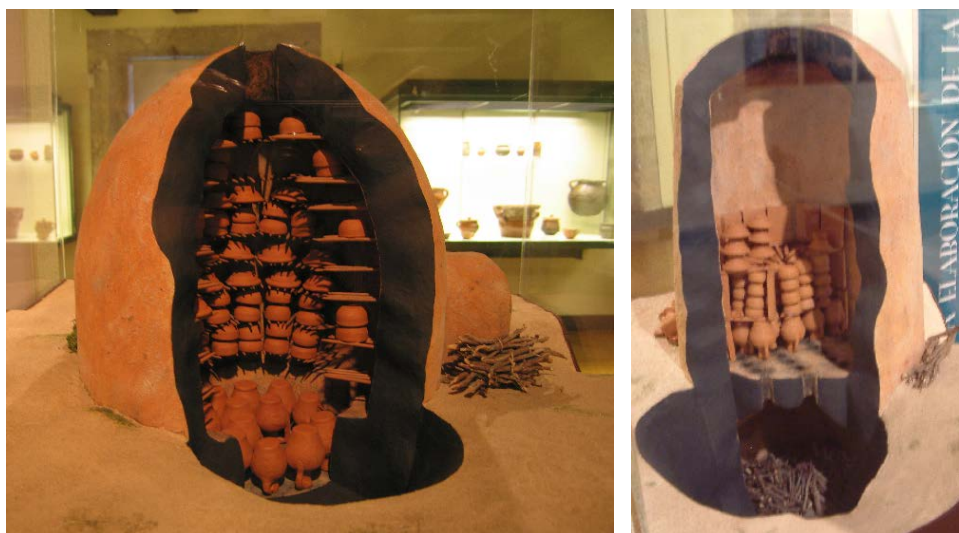
<sup>147</sup> The word *sagén* is the term given to the bank inside the lower part of the updraught kiln, raised away from the fire itself by a low step, where some ceramic processes such as fritting and biscuit firing sometimes took place. The word comes from the Arabic, in which the word *sjen* is still used among potters in Fez, Morocco, to refer to the combustion room of the kiln. (Coll, 'Transferencias', p.338). See Corriente, 'Arabismos del Catalán' p.68.

<sup>148</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias', p.313.

<sup>149</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias', p.312.



Earthenware pegs were used as shelves to support the ceramics inside the kiln, as excavation finds of the material in Paterna suggests.<sup>150</sup> These types of kilns were also used in the workshops in Denia, both at the tenth- and eleventh-century workshops excavated at Calle Ramón Ortega where green and brown tin-glazed ware was found,<sup>151</sup> and in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century workshops (from before the Christian conquest of 1244).<sup>152</sup>



Figs.63 and 64 Reconstruction of the Arab updraught kiln type used at Paterna (left) showing the ceramic supports and perforated floor level (right). Museo de Teruel, Teruel.

The upper level, where most of the ceramics were located, can be reconstructed from ethnographic evidence, as at best a few centimetres in height of the upper level walls have been found in excavations at Paterna; the grill separating this level from the lower room has been found (see Figs.63 and 64 above).<sup>153</sup>

The kilns were situated beside the workshops, in the open air, to avoid risk of fire within the buildings.<sup>154</sup> One particularly large kiln excavated in Paterna measured 3.7m long by 2m wide; the *sagen* measured 1.9m long by 2m wide.<sup>155</sup> The walls had survived up to a height of 1.35m. The length of the combustion chamber was 1.7m. The *sagen* was

<sup>150</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias', p.314.

<sup>151</sup> Josep A. Gisbert Santonja, *Cerámica Califal de Dénia* (Alicante, 2000).

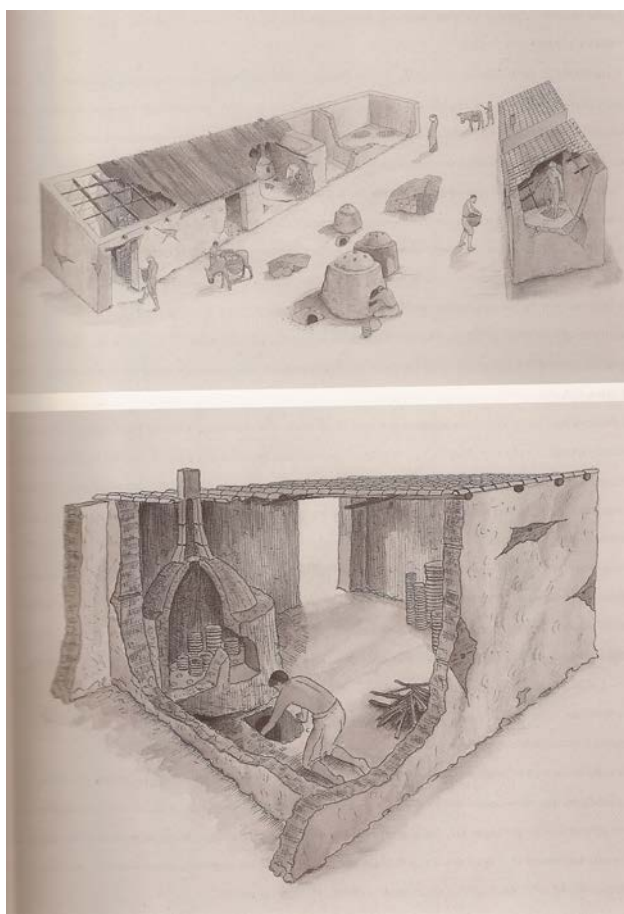
<sup>152</sup> Gisbert Santonja and Vicent Burguera Sanmateu and Joaquim Bolufer i Marques, *La Cerámica de Daniya – Dénia: Alfares y Ajuares Domésticos de los Siglos XII-XIII* (Valencia, 1992), pp.55-74.

<sup>153</sup> Coll, 'Transferencias', p.308.

<sup>154</sup> Amigues and Mesquida *Les Ateliers*, p.28.

<sup>155</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.102.

raised from the combustion chamber floor by a step of 0.32m high. The interior walls had been covered by hand with a thick layer of clay. A layer of ash was found in the lower chamber floor as well as fragments of glazed and unglazed, decorated ceramics. A large number of fragmentary potters' tools, including *barras* (pegs) were found on the floor level. Many of these tools had potters' marks and incisions, which were identical to those found on the sherds of large storage jars that were excavated from the clay pits in the same workshop.<sup>156</sup>



*Figs.65 and 66* Drawing of how a thirteenth-century Islamic workshop (above) and kiln (below) may have looked, based on evidence from archaeological excavations (Avda. Montgó/Calle Teulada) in Dénia. Evidence for this same type of kiln and workshop layout was found in Paterna. (From Gisbert Santonja, *Dénia*, p.71 Lamina XIII.)

<sup>156</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.103.

## Chapter Eight

### CHRONOLOGIES: THE DATING OF PATERNA WARE

Both the typologies and the patterns of consumption of Paterna ware that were discussed in Chapter Six revealed a type of tableware that was made for and consumed by a mixed Christian and Muslim community, which was dominant in the region of Valencia in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries. Similarly, the methods of production described in Chapter Seven, while firmly rooted in the Islamic traditions, were most likely influenced by new trading patterns and mercantile activities at a similar time. The question of when Paterna ware was made can be addressed through such contextual evidence; this question is further explored in the second part of this chapter, which attempts to place Paterna ware in its wider Mediterranean context. But first this chapter addresses whether there is any specific evidence that could tell us more precisely when Paterna ware was made.

Like most medieval ceramics, Paterna ware is neither signed nor dated, nor is there any reliable stratigraphy or single piece of conclusive archaeological or documentary evidence which might establish its earliest production date. However, this chapter brings together evidence based on coin finds, comparative archaeological material, stylistic analysis and documentary material, to be able to date Paterna ware with some certainty to the early fourteenth century.

The possibility that the workshops were part of a continuous, chronological production of ceramics in Paterna from the Islamic period until the fourteenth century has preoccupied scholars and archaeologists.<sup>1</sup> However, the evidence indicates that Paterna ware was made in workshops that were established under Christian rule and flourished in the favourable commercial conditions of the early fourteenth century. The dating of these workshops to a post-conquest period and the evidence for a fourteenth-

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<sup>1</sup> Both Mesquida and López Elum have addressed these issues in some detail, also Coll; for a summary of the debate see Martí and Pascual, 'La investigación' pp.137-140.

century date for Paterna ware is examined in detail below. Finally, the circumstances surrounding the decline of Paterna ware production in the second half of the fourteenth century are described.

### **Dating Paterna ware: coin finds**

Mesquida dates the first Paterna ware to the thirteenth century, based on her interpretation of the context in which two coins were found during the late twentieth-century excavations at Paterna. The stratigraphic position and date of these coins were used by Mesquida as reference points from which she dated the rest of the workshop sites, however this stratigraphy and the subsequent dating of the sites has been questioned by other scholars.<sup>2</sup>

The first coin was found during the excavation of a workshop with two phases of use.<sup>3</sup> In the lower level, that of first occupation, Paterna ware was found. In the upper level, representing the second phase of occupation and separated from the lower by a layer of compacted ash, was a level with blue ceramics and unglazed ware, destroyed beneath a collapsed roof. On top of these roof tiles a silver *real* was found, a coin minted during the reign of Martín I (r.1396-1420).<sup>4</sup>

Mesquida argues that the first coin dates the destruction of the upper building to the early fifteenth century, based on documents from 1403, which mention that there were destroyed workshops on this site, which she says coincides with the date of the coin. These documents, she argues, mean that the roof of the building on which the coin was found was destroyed at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.85. 'Para intentar una cronología absoluta disponemos solamente de dos monedas [...]'. See Martí and Pascual 'La investigación' and López Elum, *La Producción*.

<sup>3</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.85-6.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, 14 (Cambridge, 1998) p.298.

<sup>5</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.85.

Based on her argument that the 'lifespan' of a building is seventy-five to one hundred years, she argues that this date of destruction means that the building (of which the roof was destroyed) was in use throughout the fourteenth century, which dates the blue and white and unglazed ceramics to this period. This in turn leads her to conclude that the Paterna ware was made throughout the thirteenth century, including before the Christian conquest of 1238, if a similar 'lifespan' is given to these pottery workshops as to those of the fourteenth century.

These conclusions are problematic on several levels. The coin can date the immediate ceramics found with it to the early fifteenth century, but any further interpretation should be more conservative. The Paterna ware found in the stratigraphic layer beneath the ash level predates the blue and white ceramics found above them, but no further conclusions can be drawn about the date of these green and brown ceramics. There is no evidence that the destroyed building on which the coin was found would have been constructed one hundred years before the date of the coin. It may have been just recently built in the early fifteenth century before its destruction, possibly in the early fifteenth century. There is also no archaeological evidence that the lower layer, that of green and brown ceramics beneath the ash, dates from a full century before this, from the thirteenth century. Instead, dating the upper level of blue and white and unglazed ceramics to the turn of the fifteenth century suggests that the lower level belongs somewhere in the fourteenth century. The layer of ash may in fact coincide with the great upheavals of the mid fourteenth century - the wars with Castile and the Black Death, and the Paterna ware beneath it to the first half of the fourteenth century.

The second coin was found during excavations at the Calle del Castillo in the *Ollerías Menores*, in which a pit was found filled with discarded ceramics, including Paterna ware, lustreware, *sgraffito* decorated ware, monochrome and unglazed ware.<sup>6</sup> Immediately above this were found remains of habitation that is datable by the find of a coin, a *dinero* from the reign of Jaume II, which was in circulation from 1291 to 1327.

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<sup>6</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.19-21.

The presence of this coin would suggest that the ceramics found in the pit could reasonably be dated to the early fourteenth century. Mesquida dates the contents of the pit to the second half of the thirteenth century, based on an (I believe erroneous) assumption that the coin must have been in circulation at the very beginning of its minting, rather than the end.<sup>7</sup> However, Coll suggests that the house may have been destroyed during the war between Castile and Aragon (1357-75), which would support an early fourteenth century date for the ceramics found beneath.<sup>8</sup> These two coin finds do not have a sufficiently accurate stratigraphic context with which to date the corpus of Paterna ware to any earlier than the first third of the fourteenth century.

### **Dating Paterna Ware: comparative archaeological material**

In order to try to establish a conclusive chronology of Paterna ware through archaeology, it is necessary to cross reference the evidence from Paterna excavations with material from other (contemporary and later) sites where Paterna ware has been found. Two such important excavations in areas near Paterna provide crucial supporting evidence for an early fourteenth-century production date for Paterna ware.

### **Vall Vell, Valencia**

At the Vall Vell excavation in Valencia city, ceramics from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were found within a wealthy urban part of the east of Valencia city.<sup>9</sup> At the time of the conquest, under Islamic rule this site was occupied by a cemetery, market gardens, irrigation canals, windmills and a *rahal* (a camping place<sup>10</sup>) owned by a Muslim, Mahomat Alguasqui.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Amigues and Mesquida, *Les Ateliers*, p.38.

<sup>8</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.72.

<sup>9</sup> Rosselló and Lerma, 'Vall Vell'.

<sup>10</sup> Corriente, 'Arabismos', p.63.

<sup>11</sup> Rosselló and Lerma, 'Vall Vell'.

After the conquest, Jaume I gave the land to individuals who had helped with the conquest of the city or donated to the monarchy. By the second half of the thirteenth century a number of butchers were registered on the site, as well as a forge. By the fourteenth century the land was drained of water and a series of buildings (including a dyer's oven) were constructed.

The archaeological investigation of the site, which was carried out by the Servicio de Investigación Arqueológico Municipal in Valencia, revealed stratigraphic levels which are useful for an understanding of the chronology and dating of Paterna ware. The lowest level at which ceramics appear revealed pieces which are consistent with an Islamic style and probably date from the Almohad period.<sup>12</sup>

Above, this is a level of ash-coloured earth in which thirteenth-century ceramics, probably from the period just after the conquest, are found, characterized by monochrome Islamic glazes of a dark green colour, as well as importations of Christian style ceramics ('cerámica gris' or 'grey ware' which uses a different type of clay from locally made ceramics). This suggests that the post-conquest population used Islamic monochrome glazed ware while importing some cookware ceramics from the north (Catalonia), which had been fired in a reduction kiln.

Above this is a level of sand with early fourteenth-century ceramics used to level out a space, and above this is a layer of ceramic fragments contemporary with the first half of the fourteenth century (a level which is identified using the figure U.E.5111).<sup>13</sup> Paterna ware occurs in both these levels, which are dated to after 1300. At this U.E.5111 level, over 85% of the ceramics found are Paterna ware. These are principally small bowls, plates and small jars decorated with geometric symbols, birds and towers and pseudo heraldry. Also at this level were early examples of lustre-painted ware as well as numerous examples of ceramics for cooking and everyday use (unglazed and transparent lead-glazed ware).

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<sup>12</sup> Rosselló and Lerma compare this material with ceramics found in Denia – see Gisbert *et al*, *Dénia*, nos. 17 and 19.

<sup>13</sup> Rosselló and Lerma, 'Vall Vell', p.2.

The clear stratigraphy of the excavation at Vall Vell indicates that Paterna ware first appeared here in the early fourteenth century. The fact that the Vall Vell site was given by Jaume I to individuals who had helped with the conquest of Valencia city, indicates that it was populated by Christians, from which we can infer that the Paterna ware found at this level was used by a Christian population. As the Vall Vell site was only properly drained and populated at the end of the thirteenth century, the presence of Paterna ware here might not tell us about the very earliest production of Paterna ware however, which could in theory predate that found at Vall Vell.

### **Torre Bofilla**

The most important archaeological excavation in terms of the specific, datable context it offers for Paterna ware, is at Torre Bofilla.<sup>14</sup> Excavation was carried out between 1981 and 1991 and the coins and ceramics found there provide important information for the dating of Paterna ware. The town of Torre Bofilla, eleven kilometres north of Paterna, was founded in the eleventh century as a centre of habitation and defence (Bofilla as a settlement does not survive, but the site is just outside the present town of Bétera). There are no written sources from the Muslim period, which is not unusual for such a small town, but a fragment of textile with an illegible cursive script and a Fatimid coin were excavated at the site. The Islamic origins of the town are clear from archaeological finds and documentary evidence. At its largest size, the town had around 80 houses.

Bofilla is mentioned as a population that surrendered to the King, alongside Paterna, in the *Llibre del Repartiment* of Valencia, as well as being noted in the *Crónicas*.<sup>15</sup> In April 1238 the Muslim population of Bofilla voluntarily gave itself up to the forces of Jaume I,

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<sup>14</sup> López Elum, *La alquería Islámica en Valencia. Estudio arqueológico de Bofilla. Siglos XI a XIV* (Valencia, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> See Jaume I, *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon, Surnamed the Conqueror*, CCLIV trans. John Forster (Farnborough, 1968). Accessed online: <http://libro.uca.edu/chronicleofjames/chronicle.htm>.



and in exchange was permitted to continue to practice Muslim laws and customs and its taxes were waived for two years. The town was given to the religious and military Order of Calatrava in 1237, in advance of its surrender. The Calatrava had both a military function as crusaders on the Valencian frontier, as well as acting as landowners in the newly conquered regions.<sup>16</sup>

During the mid-fourteenth century the situation of the Muslim (by now Mudéjar) population of Bofilla had worsened. The master of Calatrava asked to expel the Mudéjares in 1347 in order to repopulate the town with Christians. The monarch (Pedro IV) agreed. After a tax document from 1357 there is no further documentary record of the town. By 1386 the town was no longer listed among the territories held by the head of the Calatrava order, which indicates that the town was already depopulated by this date.<sup>17</sup>

The historical as well as archaeological evidence shows that Bofilla was occupied from the eleventh century until the mid-fourteenth centuries. Fifteen coins were found on the site during the excavation: two Roman, one Islamic, and twelve Christian (nine from the reign of Jaume I (1238-1276) and three from that of Jaume II (1291-1327)).

Carmen Barceló identified the Islamic coin as a Fatimid *dirham* of al-Hakim.<sup>18</sup> On the reverse is the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (996-1021). The holes may indicate it was used as an adornment, or perhaps holes were made as a way of cancelling the coin's use as legal tender by the state. A relatively large number of Fatimid coins have been found in al-Andalus. The presence of the coin in Bofilla confirms that the town was active from the eleventh century, and was possibly involved in mercantile activities.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p.181.

<sup>17</sup> López Elum, *Bofilla*, p.71.

<sup>18</sup> López Elum, *Bofilla*, pp.76-77.

<sup>19</sup> Coins from the reign of al-Hakim (996-1021) are the most common among Fatimid coins found in Valencia region. The study by Carolina Doménech Belda, 'Circulacion Monetaria durante el Periodo Islamico en el Pais Valenciano' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Alicante, Alicante, 1997), on the circulation of coins in Valencia during the Islamic period, revealed that coins minted under the reign of al-Hakim made up 61.3% of the total number of

The twelve Christian coins found at Bofilla can be divided into two chronological groups, and are an indication of trading activity from the mid-thirteenth century until the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Of these twelve coins, the earlier group of six coins can be dated from between 1247 and 1271, minted in Valencia under Jaume I. The second group comprises six coins that were minted in Barcelona after 1258. The first three of these are also from the reign of Jaume I, with the word 'Barquinona' on one side, these date between 1258 and 1276. The next three are from the reign of Jaume II and date from 1291 to 1327. The presence in the kingdom of Valencia of these coins that were minted in Barcelona was probably due to the lack of coins minted in Valencia between 1276 (the death of Jaume I) and 1336 (the beginning of the reign of Pedro IV).<sup>20</sup> These coins in Bofilla are useful because they confirm that the town was engaged in trade with other regions in the Crown of Aragon during the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century.

Glazed and unglazed ceramics were found at the site, from stratigraphic contexts consistent with both Islamic and Christian periods of rule. From seven of the houses excavated, around 18,000 fragments of unglazed and undecorated ceramics were found, with some found in every dwelling place.<sup>21</sup> Fragments of decorated ceramics from the Islamic period include 32 sherds of taifa-style green and brown glazed ware, 57 sherds of *cuerda seca* and 15 sherds of *sgraffito*-decorated ware. From the seven houses excavated, sherds of decorated ware from the Islamic period were found in each dwelling.

The Paterna ware (green and brown) is found in post-conquest stratigraphic contexts, and includes fragments of jars, containers and plates. The material can be dated from stratigraphies between the Christian conquests of the mid-thirteenth century until the

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Fatimid coins found in the region (154 examples out of a total of 251). The majority (93%) of these 251 coins were made from silver like the Torre Bofilla piece, the rest from gold. Most were also fractions of dirhams rather than entire coins (Doménech Belda p.420). All the Fatimid coins found in al-Andalus were minted in the western Fatimid empire, before the mint moved to Egypt in 1049-50. By 1100 Fatimid coins had largely ceased to arrive in al-Andalus.

<sup>20</sup> Rafael Arroyo Ilera, *Las Monedas Valencianas* (Valencia, 1984) p.94.

<sup>21</sup> López Elum, *Bofilla*, p.355.

mid-fourteenth century, and is decorated in a style similar to the Paterna ware found at the Vall Vell excavation. No evidence of local pottery production has been found in Bofilla, so it is likely that the Paterna ware was sourced directly from Paterna or through merchants. Within the excavations of seven houses in this rural nucleus, 168 sherds of Paterna ware were found, with some of this type found in every dwelling. Of the other types of post-conquest decorated ceramics, 37 sherds of cobalt blue and white decorated ware were found, two blue and lustre-painted and two lustre-painted fragments; unlike the Paterna ware which was found in each dwelling, these were found only in some houses and none of these three other types were found in every house.<sup>22</sup>

The excavation in Bofilla is invaluable because the town was depopulated rapidly by the mid-fourteenth century, unlike other excavated sites such as the workshops in Paterna, which had continuous occupation for centuries. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for Paterna ware found here of 1357 and confirms an early fourteenth century date for Paterna ware production.

### **Bellver castle, Mallorca**

A single piece of Paterna ware was found by chance in the foundations of the royal castle built by Jaume II in 1309 at Bellver, near Palma de Mallorca in Mallorca (Cat.410).<sup>23</sup> The piece has been dated to 1310 based on the date of the foundations upon which it was found. It is a bowl with a central recess, with two fish in green and brown around the wide rim. If correct, this would represent the earliest datable piece of Paterna ware (although the date is very tentative), supporting the already convincing theory that production was under way by the turn of the fourteenth century.

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<sup>22</sup> López Elum, *Bofilla*, p.356.

<sup>23</sup> Josep María Ainaud de Lasarte, 'Cerámica y Vidrio', *Ars Hispaniae*, 10 (1952) p.13. Also noted in Schnyder, 'Die Keramik', pp.119-20.

## **Dating Paterna ware: Stylistic analysis**

### **Heraldry**

Heraldic motifs offer further clues for dating some Paterna ware. A plate in the Museo Nacional de Cerámica in Valencia shows the coats of arms of two leading families, that of the Crown of Aragon on the left and of the house of Luna on the right (Cat.256). It was found by the collector González Martí in the cistern pit of the excavations at Calle del Castillo at the site of the Muslim castle of Paterna, a building that was subsequently the palace of the Luna family in Paterna. The inclusion of both coats of arms may refer to the marriage of Lope de Luna, the local lord, with Violante de Aragón, daughter of Aragonese king Jaume II, which would date it to some time from the year of their marriage in 1339, to that of the death of Violante in 1353.<sup>24</sup> Alternatively, it may record another marriage between the Luna and Aragon families this time in 1372, that of María de Luna, daughter of Lope de Luna, and Martín de Aragón, who took the throne as King of Aragón in 1396.<sup>25</sup> However, this later dating would not be consistent with the wider dating of Paterna ware to the first half of the fourteenth century; during the latter half of the century the Black Death and war with Castile had taken their toll on the population, and the industry in Paterna declined significantly (see Chapter Three).

The evidence from excavations of Paterna ware in other sites, at Vall Vell and Torre Bofilla, corroborates archaeological evidence from the town itself that Paterna ware was produced in the early fourteenth century. The interpretation of heraldic devices and coinage support this dating. There is no evidence to support an earlier (thirteenth-

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<sup>24</sup> Gonzalez Martí, Loza, p.169 was the first to suggest the plate records the marriage between the Luna and Aragón families, but he attributes it to the later 1372 date recording the marriage of María and Martín. Luis M. Llubíá, *Cerámica Medieval Española* (Barcelona, 1967), p.160, argued that the plate records the 1339 marriage of Lope and Violante. He argues that the use of the green and brown tin-glazed decorative technique for a commemorative plate could only come from the earlier date, as by 1372 the more luxury decorative technique of cobalt blue and lustre would have been used for such an important plate.

<sup>25</sup> Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, p.42.

century) date that might suggest a continuity of production from Islamic times; all the available information indicates that the industry was established under Christian rule.

### **Martí and Pascual – three phases of chronological development?**

In 1984 Martí and Pascual proposed a theory of three phases of chronological development within the corpus of Paterna ware.<sup>26</sup> From an examination of the Paterna ware found at different sites, particularly that excavated in urban Valencia, they suggested that three chronological phases of stylistic evolution could be identified. The difference between the three groups was not in a change of technique or of typologies, but in a gradual abstraction and simplification of the motifs over time.<sup>27</sup> They identified these three groups as:

1. *Serie Clásica* (Classic Series), in which the greatest volume of Paterna ware is found. The decoration is drawn with a firm line and the repertoire is extensive, including geometric and figurative imagery. (See for example, Cats.97 and 256).
2. *Serie Evolucionada* (Evolved Series), characterized by a stylization of motifs and greater spontaneity of line. Motifs are simplified and tend towards the geometric rather than figurative. (See for example, Cats.232 and 349).
3. *Serie Esquemática* (Schematic Series), represents a change in the decoration as detailed drawing is replaced by more schematic, brief motifs. The motifs are mostly geometric and vegetal, without the figurative, epigraphic or architectural motifs of the previous phases. (See for example, Cats.361 and 375).

Their reason for a chronological ordering of the groups – Classic first, then Evolved, finally Schematic – is based on observations; they note that the Classic appears 'more primitive' (*más primitiva*), the Evolved seems like a 'degeneration' (*degeneración*) of the motifs used in the Classic scheme, and the Schematic appears 'later' (*más*

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<sup>26</sup> Lerma and Martí and Pascual and others, 'Sistematización', pp.183-203. The theory was later refined in Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde-Manganeso*, p.135.

<sup>27</sup> A comprehensive typological classification of Paterna ware was published by Lerma *et al* 'Sistematización' and subsequently by Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde-Manganeso*. This is examined in detail in this thesis in Chapter Four: part two (Typologies).

*tardía*).<sup>28</sup> They date the Classic phase to the early fourteenth century, based on finds of Paterna ware in this style, such as that at Bellver castle in Mallorca. The end of production coincides with the Schematic phase, which is found alongside 'Pula' style blue and lustre-painted ware, some time in the late fourteenth century. The Evolved phase they place between the other two phases, some time in the mid-fourteenth century.

The evidence on which Paterna ware is divided this way into three phases is fragile. Subjective descriptions of the way motifs are drawn as 'primitive', 'degenerate' or 'later' and the subsequent ordering of Paterna ware according to a traditional art-historical model of an arc, with a golden age followed by a phase of degeneration, are not firm grounds for dividing Paterna ware in this way. A large volume of ceramics were made in Paterna within a relatively short period of time, less than a century, by different potters and workshops working alongside one another. Stylistic differences among these workshops are inevitable and the perceived differences between 'classic' and 'evolved' ceramics may be due to who made them rather than when they were made.

There is no archaeological or other, objective, basis for separating these ceramics into two groups of chronological development. Both 'Classic' and 'Evolved' ceramics are usually found in the same archaeological contexts from the first half of the fourteenth century, for example at Bofilla and in Paterna.<sup>29</sup> If in some excavations, such as at the Bab al-Hanax in Valencia or at Santa Catalina de Sena 7 in Palma de Mallorca,<sup>30</sup> only the more complex material is found, which Martí and Pascual would identify as belonging to the 'Classic' phase, this may equally be because a particular workshop happened to produce pieces at that excavation, which were more complex pieces, alongside another workshop which made simpler designs.

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<sup>28</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde-Manganeso*, p.137.

<sup>29</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica Verde-Manganeso*, p.138. The authors note that both Evolved and Classic types habitually appear together in the same stratigraphic contexts.

<sup>30</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.72.

Archaeological contexts prove more supportive of the association of Schematic ware with 'Pula' style ceramics and to date both styles to the latter half of the fourteenth century. However, this schematic style, in which simple radial and vegetal motifs predominate over more complex and figurative motifs, represents a very small number of pieces within the corpus of Paterna ware. The vast majority of Paterna ware belongs to the so-called 'Classic' and 'Evolved' groups.

While the close examination of style and motif undertaken by Martí and Pascual is an important study of the stylistic variations within Paterna ware, the lack of substantial archaeological evidence to support their divisions of the corpus into chronological phases makes it difficult to uphold a three-phase division of the corpus. Differences in style and motif could equally be attributed to different workshops or individuals rather than to a perceived chronological development based on a rather traditional idea that 'complex' is always followed by 'simplification' and subsequent 'degeneration'.

### **Dating Paterna Ware: documentary evidence**

The earliest documents which mention ceramics in Paterna consist of written contracts witnessed by a notary, between potters and merchants, acknowledging an order for the potter to make a certain amount of pottery by a certain date and at a certain price. Paterna ware is not mentioned specifically in the early contract documents; rather these are contracts for unglazed container ceramics. These contracts were written more or less to a formula, in which the potter who had promised to make a certain type of ceramic acknowledged having received a certain amount of money, metal or spice or both from the person who contracted his services. The potter was then considered in debt to the contractor, and promised to deliver the described goods within a certain amount of time to a determined place. The price was noted by unit, by dozen or by weight. Usually the potter undertook to deliver the goods to the destination at his own expense and risk (this was usually Valencia city or port). A sanction was often

indicated which the potter should pay the contractor should the contract not be fulfilled. Witnesses then signed the contract.<sup>31</sup>

There are a number of such documents (relating to contractual orders for unglazed ware from Paterna) dating from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. While these contracts do not refer specifically to Paterna ware, they can nevertheless provide some understanding of how the potters and merchants worked together and give an idea of the scale of the workshops at this stage.

In total, there are twelve documents that refer to Paterna potters in the period between 1285 and 1332, of which eleven are contracts and one refers to a land dispute.<sup>32</sup> Between 1906 and 1911, de Osma published previously unpublished documents from the Valencian archives, which dealt with ceramics from Manises and Paterna. Of these documents, there were five contracts that referred to the early period of ceramic production, in the first half of the fourteenth century, one of which referred to Paterna (dated 1317). Subsequently, Olivar Daydí published a document referring to Paterna from 1320.<sup>33</sup> López Elum published newly discovered documents from the period, of which ten refer to Paterna (he published 18 documents in total from the Archivo del Reino de Valencia dating from 1285 to 1332, and two from the Archivo Municipal de Sueca from 1304).<sup>34</sup>

The earliest reference to pottery produced in Paterna is a contract dated 26 October 1285 in the Archives of Valencia.<sup>35</sup> The text (transcribed by López Elum) reads:

'[E]go, Mafomet<sup>36</sup> Algebha, sarracenus Paterne, confiteor me debere vobis, Arnaldo de Castellaria, [filio] condam Peregrini de Castellaria, et vestris, centum al[f]ollas ad opus olley, ad unum pretium, bonas, sinceras et bene coctas, transferte intus in domo vestra dehinc ad m[e]ns[e]m proximum venturum, pret[i]um quorum iam a vobis habui et recepi, etc., scilicet V solidos [re]gallium.

<sup>31</sup> López Elum, *Los Orígenes*, p.23

<sup>32</sup> 1285 is the date of the earliest document which refers to pottery in Paterna. There are documents which refer to Paterna from throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but I have taken a sample from the principal period when Paterna ware was being produced.

<sup>33</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La Cerámica Trecentista*, p.141.

<sup>34</sup> López Elum, *Los Orígenes*, pp.22-23.

<sup>35</sup> López Elum, *Los Orígenes*, pp.69-71

<sup>36</sup> The handwritten text reads 'Mafomet', but it is translated by López Elum as 'Mahomet', *Los Orígenes*, p.69.



Testes sunt inde, Dominicus de Sarion, cursor, Jucef, filius Bagenati, sarracenus, et Caççim, filius Vidrieri ac filius d'Almellarii Paterne.'

-ARV, *Prot.*, Guerau Molere, 2900, fol.48.

The English translation is:

'I, Mahomet Algebha, Muslim of Paterna, owe Arnaldo de Castellaria, son of the late Peregrini de Castellaria, one hundred large jars, for containing oil, at one price, good, true and well fired<sup>37</sup>, which will be delivered to his house in Valencia during the month of December, and for which he has received five *sueldos*. Witnessed by Dominicus de Sarion, messenger, Jucef, son of Bagenati, Muslim, and Caççim, son of Vidrieri and son of Almellarii Paterne.'<sup>38</sup>

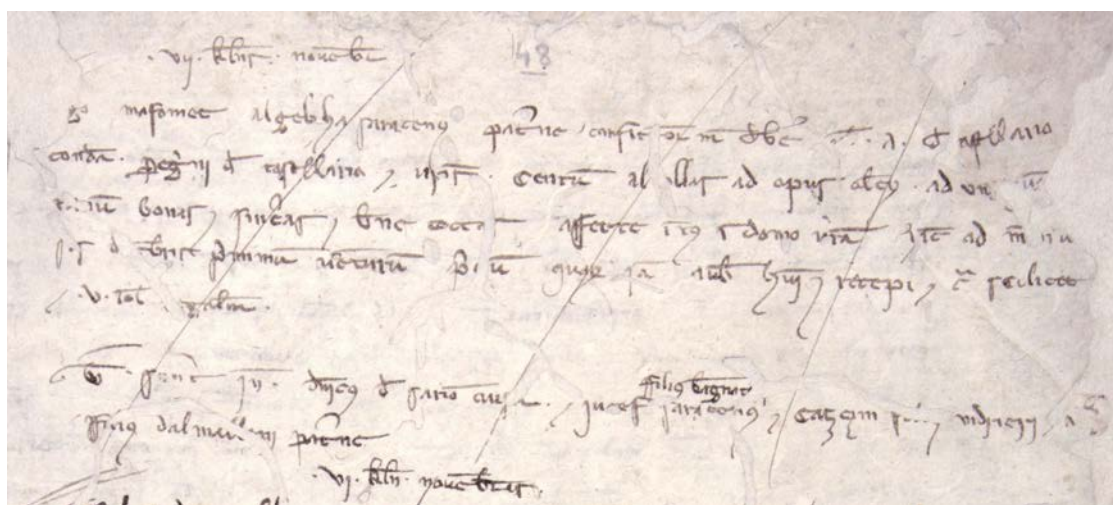


Fig.67 Detail of a facsimile copy of the contract document dated 26 October 1285. Protocolos Guerau Molere, 2900, fol.48r. (Image © Archivo del Reino de Valencia.)

The document indicates that by 1285, a potter in Paterna was producing ceramic container vessels to order for commercial sale. It is both stated in the document (*sarracenus Paterne*) and interpreted from the potter's name (Mahomet Algebha) that he is a Muslim. The name of the contractor (Arnaldo de Castellaria) indicates he is a Christian.

<sup>37</sup> De Osma, *Los Maestros*, p.13, notes that in later contracts it is usually stipulated that the earthenware should be good, ready for sale and of good quality.

<sup>38</sup> Latin to Spanish translation by López Elum, *Los Origenes*. Translation from Spanish to English by author.

The vessels referred to in the 1285 contract were undecorated. No decoration is mentioned in the contract; indeed the vessels were probably unglazed. The capacity to produce one hundred large vessels for the following month indicates a market demand and the existence of an infrastructure in Paterna, in terms of a workshop large enough to make and store these pots and the skilled potters able to make them, to satisfy this demand. The number and capacity of the pots undertaken by the Mudéjar potters in this contract shows that they had mastered the necessary technical skills to make and fire large vessels to order. This structure implies that although this document is the earliest pertaining to Paterna, a ceramic workshop making undecorated ware had been established in Paterna by this date.

Two other documents show the continuation of this ceramics industry in Paterna during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. They also portray an industry that seems to have been dominated by Muslim potters and Christian traders, if we interpret from the Muslim or Christian names of many of the individuals and from their identification in the documents as 'sarracenus'. A contract dated 1317 describes how Azmet Aben Calip a potter from Paterna and Mafomat Alacen a Muslim from Benimaclet (a town just north of the Turia river which is now within the city of Valencia) agree to supply the contractor Vitali Ferrer with 48 large storage vessels (*alfábias*) each with a capacity of 366 litres to be delivered to the contractor in August. These should be well-fired and covered with pitch (*pez*) to render them impermeable. This is witnessed by Ffrancischus Geraldí, Jucef Alfaqui and Azmet Lop.<sup>39</sup>

A contract from 1320 is between a Muslim potter from Paterna, Axalboní, with a (probably Christian) Paterna resident Michael Folquerii. Folquerii may have been a potter, but unlike Axalboní, he is not specified as such in the contract. He may have acted as a go-between or trader on behalf of the potter, or perhaps was an assistant to

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<sup>39</sup> De Osma, *Adiciones*, p.30. From the notary Domingo Claramunt, 1317, Archivo Regional de Valencia, Valencia

the potter.<sup>40</sup> The pair agrees to make three-dozen jars (*gerrarum*) for two presumably-Christian figures, Cabot and Maxella, in Valencia. It is witnessed by two Christians and one Muslim.<sup>41</sup>

While Paterna ware is not specifically mentioned in these early documents, we know from the archaeological evidence discussed above that Paterna ware was being produced by the second quarter of the fourteenth century.<sup>42</sup> This lack of contracts for Paterna ware does not therefore necessarily mean that this decorated ware was not being made. For some reason, Paterna ware does not appear in the contracts that happen to have survived from the period.<sup>43</sup> This may be due to the mechanism of the marketing of Paterna ware; perhaps the production of undecorated and unglazed earthenware was a part of the local economy in Paterna, which was mediated through merchants and notaries; Paterna ware may not have been distributed in the same way. Unglazed and undecorated ware would have been used largely for the storage and transportation of comestibles and therefore closely tied-up with the agricultural and export industries. Glazed tableware such as Paterna ware, by contrast, was not similarly connected with the food industry but was largely consumed within a local domestic context, and probably relied therefore on a different notary, group of merchants or trading schedule.

Contracts for the sale of ceramics from Manises in the fourteenth century include some descriptions of decorated ware, which might refer to the tin-glazed, green and brown style of ceramics made in Paterna, which were also probably made on a small scale in Manises.<sup>44</sup> The earliest document from Manises, dated 1325, was for lustre-painted ware, and in 1333 for cobalt blue and lustre-painted ware; the terms used in contracts

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<sup>40</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.73, suggests that Folquerii may not have been a potter, but would have shared the responsibility for the delivery of the ceramics to the merchant.

<sup>41</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La Cerámica Trecentista*, p.141. Contract from the notary Aparici de Lapart Leg.462 no.2627 f.220v. Archivo General del Reino, Valencia.

<sup>42</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.85.

<sup>43</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.56.

<sup>44</sup> For a detailed analysis of the terms used to describe Manises ware in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see López Elum, *La producción* (Valencia, 2005).

for this type of pottery include *opus album et pictum*,<sup>45</sup> *opus Mâleche*,<sup>46</sup> *opus terre daurati cum çafra*.<sup>47</sup> Other descriptions found in the contracts such as *pots verds* (green pots) (1329), *terra pintats* (painted ware) (Valencia 1339), and *scutellas de terra virides* (bowls of green ware) (1339) may refer to the style of Paterna ware that was also made at Manises. The existence of such contract documents pertaining to decorated ware made and traded in Manises at a similar time in the fourteenth century as Paterna ware, tells us that contract documents for Paterna ware probably did exist, but that the documents have not survived or have not yet been recognised as such.

### **Islamic ceramics in Paterna?**

Mesquida argues that large quantities of 'high quality' decorated ceramics were made in Paterna during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, before the Christian conquest (1238), based on her excavations in Paterna in which ceramics decorated with techniques typical of this period were found.<sup>48</sup> The techniques included earthenware decorated with *sgraffito* and manganese painting and partial *cuerda seca*.<sup>49</sup> These techniques are typical of decorated ceramics from the Almohad period (1172-1228 in Valencia) found at several excavations in southeast Spain. Earthenware decorated with *sgraffito* and painted manganese decoration has been found in excavations in Valencia city, datable to the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries,<sup>50</sup> while finds at Carrer del Zavellà in Palma de Mallorca<sup>51</sup> and San Nicolás in Murcia<sup>52</sup> have also revealed similar ceramics from this period.

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<sup>45</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, p.35, translates 'opus album' as white ware (with a tin glaze) 'et pictum' is with decoration, probably in lustre.

<sup>46</sup> López Elum, *Los orígenes*, pp.31-33, explains that 'Malaga ware' indicates lustre painted ceramics, similar to that made in Malaga.

<sup>47</sup> Translates as 'lustre-painted ware with blue'.

<sup>48</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.31.

<sup>49</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p. 132-167 and 204-210.

<sup>50</sup> Navarro Palazón, 'La cerámica con decoración esgrafiada' in *La Cerámica Islámica en la ciudad de Valencia: Estudios*, (Valencia, 1990) pp.115-135.

<sup>51</sup> Margalida Rosselló Pons, *Les Ceràmiques Almohades del Carrer del Zavellà, Ciutat de Mallorca* (Palma de Mallorca, 1983).

<sup>52</sup> Navarro Palazón, 'La Cerámica Islámica en Murcia', Exhibition catalogue, I (Murcia, 1986).

However, the small quantity of material using these Almohad techniques that was found at Paterna is not enough to confirm the existence of an Almohad workshop in the town. Furthermore, it has been argued on the basis of the low quality and small number of ceramics of this type, that these pieces may be attributed to a later date, to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.<sup>53</sup> Although Mesquida argues that Almohad kilns have been found in Paterna, the dates and stratigraphy of these kiln sites have not been corroborated.<sup>54</sup> Analysis has not been carried out on these early pieces, which might help to determine whether they were made in Paterna or were made elsewhere, such as in Valencia, and brought to the town. If ceramics were made in Paterna during the Almohad period, the production was a small scale one and the ceramics made were decorated in a different way from those made in the fourteenth century - unglazed and decorated with sgraffito and manganese, rather than tin-glazed with pigmented decoration. The case for the continuity of production in workshops throughout the thirteenth century, which would mean a complete change of decorative style and technique in the fourteenth century, is therefore a weak one.

### **The end of Paterna ware**

Production of Paterna ware probably continued until the last quarter of the fourteenth century at least.<sup>55</sup> In 1383 a Franciscan friar, Francesc Eiximenis wrote a treatise, *Regiment de la Cosa Pública*, in which he cites Paterna (and Cárcer, a town 50 kilometres from Paterna, which has not been explored by archaeologists to date) as centres where everyday earthenware - *obra de terra comuna* - was made which was

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<sup>53</sup> Martí and Pascual and Lourdes Roca, 'Entre el "know how" y el mercado. El horizonte cerámico de la colonización feudal en el territorio valenciano', García Porras and Fernando Villada Paredes (eds.), *La cerámica en entornos urbanos y rurales en el Mediterráneo medieval* (Ceuta, 2008).

<sup>54</sup> Mesquida, *Ollerías*, p.93.

<sup>55</sup> Martí, 'An overview', p.5 Fig.1.

not easily found elsewhere, including jars, bowls, pitchers, pots, kitchen tubs and roof tiles.<sup>56</sup>

However, the economic decline of the second half of the fourteenth century in the region must have taken its toll on Paterna. The success of blue and lustre-painted ceramics made in nearby Manises, which was owned by this time by the Boil family, may have influenced this change of direction, which led to a decline in demand for Paterna ware.<sup>57</sup> The Valencian ceramics industry suffered in the fifteenth century, as Mudéjares were particularly affected by increasing anti-Muslim hostility in Valencia, hostility inflamed by a plague in Valencia in 1450, massive inflation and economic decline particularly in the industrial and agricultural sectors.<sup>58</sup>

The devastating blow for Paterna came in 1521, with the peasant revolt known as the *Germanías*. The *Germanías* or 'brotherhoods' were the Valencian artisans who, in the early part of the sixteenth century, were trying to overthrow the oppressive rule of the nobility. Combined with an increase in anti-Muslim feeling among the Christian population, the *Germanías* began to take violent action against the Mudéjares, who as a population paid higher taxes to the nobility. Although the ultimate aim was the nobility, and social forces rather than religious tensions may have precipitated this revolt, nevertheless the rebellion devastated the Mudéjar population.<sup>59</sup> A layer of ash across the Paterna workshops site of the *Ollerías Mayores* marks the wholesale destruction of the potteries in 1521. Documents indicate that most of the Mudéjar population left the town after the destruction; although the ceramics industry (making blue and white, and lustre-painted ware) partially recovered, the workshops suffered a 90% reduction in output (according to tax revenues) from the previous century.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa publica*, 1383, first printed 1499. 'l'obra comuna de terra que es fa a Paterna e a Carçre, així com jarres, cantes, olles, terrassos, escudelles, cresols, llibrells, rajoles, teules e semblants coses moltes', cited in Coll, *La Cerámica*, p.58.

<sup>57</sup> Martí, 'An overview', p.5 Fig.1.

<sup>58</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, pp.386-87 and Catlos, *Victors*, p.302. See Chapter Three pp.61-64.

<sup>59</sup> Meyerson, *The Muslims*, pp.89-90.

<sup>60</sup> Gimeno Roselló, *Las Germanías*. López Elum, *La Producción* pp.36-40.

### **Paterna ware in context**

It is clear that the production of Paterna ware can be placed in the broad timeframe of the early fourteenth century through both historical contextual evidence and the more specific analysis of archaeological, stylistic and documentary evidence outlined above. A broader look at the kind of ceramics that were being made across the parts of the western Mediterranean at this time, reveals that this tin-glazed, green and brown ware made in Paterna was not produced in isolation. Instead it was part of a wider production of similar ceramics, which seem to have been made in the western Mediterranean from the tenth century and become popular again by this time in the early fourteenth century. This section attempts to put the dating of Paterna ware in its proper context, by surveying ceramics that are comparative both technically and stylistically, from centres of production in the western Mediterranean region.

In 1925, Ernst Kühnel suggested that a direct link might be made between the tin-glazed, decorated ceramics made in caliphal and taifa al-Andalus, and Paterna ware. He argued that although the productions were separated by several centuries, future archaeological finds might serve to bridge this chronological gap and show a continuity of production of green and brown tin-glazed ceramics from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries in Iberia.<sup>60</sup> This is not the kind of continuous production within Paterna that was suggested by Mesquida and disproved above, but a chronology across a wider geographical area, in which productions may have been linked through travelling workshops or potters.

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<sup>60</sup> Kühnel, 'Keramik von Paterna', p.37.

Such continuous production within the Iberian Peninsula has not yet been proven.<sup>61</sup> Archaeological evidence continues to bring to light tin-glazed green and brown ware in Iberia which fill this gap and future finds may reveal new production centres which show that this type of ceramics continued to be made within the peninsula. However, a wider look at the evidence from ceramics made across the western Mediterranean shows that there was some continuous production of tin-glazed, green and brown ceramics.<sup>62</sup> Finds of tin-glazed ceramics across the western Mediterranean, specifically from north Africa, northern Italy, Sicily, southern France, the Balearic Islands and Catalonia, credit Kühnel's hypothesis of a direct transfer of knowledge of glazing, firing and decorative methods, from potters among centres in this wider region.<sup>63</sup>

This section draws together recent material from archaeological finds and scientific analysis, to attempt to address Kühnel's theory in a clear and narrative way. This chronological narrative of tin-glazed green and brown ware through different parts of the western Mediterranean, sets up a context for the workshops in Paterna within

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<sup>61</sup> Martí and Pascual, 'La investigación' p.141. While archaeological evidence indicates that many workshops making this type of ceramic flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the trail in Iberia seems to go cold by the end of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

<sup>62</sup> Tin glazing on earthenware had been largely replaced by lead glazing on fritware by the eleventh century in Fatimid Egypt, so the possibility that the technique was reintroduced from the east to al-Andalus in the late twelfth century is less likely than the theory that the original techniques introduced into tenth century caliphal al-Andalus enjoyed continuous production in the western Mediterranean.

It has been argued that the production of green and brown ceased completely in the Iberian peninsula and was reintroduced to Valencia and Teruel in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries from Italy and southern France; however, this argument is based on a lack of archaeological evidence showing continuous production within Iberia, rather than on any close parallels between Paterna ware and the tin-glazed ceramics made in Italy or France. See Martí, 'Una manufactura a la búsqueda de paternidad. Apuntes sobre el inicio de la producción de cerámica decorada bajomedieval en el área valenciana y dentro del contexto del Mediterráneo Nordoccidental', *Atti del Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, Albisola, 31 (1999) p.202. Also García Porras, 'La Cerámica', p.136.

<sup>63</sup> Archaeological excavations and finds made since Kühnel's article was published have greatly expanded our knowledge of the geographical spread of this type of ceramics. The 1995 exhibition and catalogue, *Le Vert et le Brun*, highlighted the links among the green and brown tin-glazed ceramics, made in the western Mediterranean between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries. See Démians d'Archibaud, *Le Vert et le Brun* p.15 in particular.



which the dating of the material to the early fourteenth century can be properly understood.<sup>64</sup>

### **From East to West: the origins of green and brown tin-glazed ceramics**

Watson describes the green and brown decorated ceramics which began to be made in the western Mediterranean, in North Africa and Spain, from the ninth century, as 'a whole new ceramic world', a 'distinct family' which developed into *maiolica* ware in Italy and France and eventually had a great impact on European ceramic traditions.<sup>65</sup> However, for the origins of this 'new world' we must look towards the east.

China was the source for many of the stylistic and technological developments in early Islamic ceramics. Attempts to imitate the colour of Chinese porcelain led potters in the Islamic world to develop the technique of tin glazing. Green pigment on a white glaze was used in early Islamic ware from Basra in Iraq and from ninth to tenth-century Iran,<sup>66</sup> possibly also inspired by motifs on imported Chinese ceramics.<sup>67</sup>

By the tenth century, earthenware ceramics decorated with inscription motifs, and painted in green pigments on a white glaze, were made in both the Mesopotamian region<sup>68</sup> and in Fatimid Egypt.<sup>69</sup> Sherds decorated with animal motifs in green on a

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<sup>64</sup> In Cyprus in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, ceramic tableware was decorated with superficially similar motifs to those in Paterna ware, using a green and yellowish brown palette on a white slip. See for example in the Victoria and Albert Museum the bowl C.83-1933 which shows a betrothed couple. However, this Cyprus ware was decorated with a white slip and incised decoration, splashed with coloured glazes – a completely different technique from that used in Paterna ware and in the other ceramic types from the western Mediterranean that are examined in this section. Typologies of the Cyprus ware are also different from those in Paterna – being closer to the *bacini* shape of Mallorca. For these reasons, Cyprus ware will not form part of this study, despite some similarities in iconography which may be due to common source material in the Mediterranean region and are not close enough to warrant more investigation.

<sup>65</sup> Oliver Watson, *Ceramics from Islamic Lands* (London, 2004) p.38.

<sup>66</sup> Watson, *Ceramics*, p.174 Cat.D.3 and p.176 Cat.D.7.

<sup>67</sup> Watson, *Ceramics*, p.37.

<sup>68</sup> Watson, *Ceramics*, p.179 Cat. D11.

white base from the tenth and eleventh centuries have also been attributed to Fustat workshops.<sup>70</sup>

It was precisely at this time, during the tenth century, that the use of green and brown pigments on a tin-glaze first appeared in North Africa and in al-Andalus.

At Raqqada in present-day Tunisia, green and brown fragments on both white and yellow bases have been dated to the late tenth to early eleventh centuries.<sup>71</sup> Somehow, probably through the movement of individual potters or entire workshops, the technique of tin glazing and decorating with colours, particularly green, travelled west through the Islamic world. The Friday mosque of Kairouan in Tunisia contains lustre-painted tiles which were manufactured in Baghdad in the ninth century;<sup>72</sup> if the lustre technique was brought from Baghdad to Kairouan, it is possible that this green on white style travelled alongside it.<sup>73</sup>

Jenkins argues that by the tenth century, an active ceramic tradition was established in the western Mediterranean that centred on Raqqada, the Aghlabid and later Fatimid

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<sup>69</sup> Helen Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics, Ninth to Late Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1980), p.52 no.107. Philon notes sherds decorated with an inscription in green, on an opaque base, among the collection of Fustat ware at the Benaki Museum, Athens.

<sup>70</sup> Philon lists a group of sherds at the Benaki Museum similarly decorated in green and in green and brown with a white opaque glaze, with animal and epigraphic motifs; Philon, *Early Islamic*, Figs.112-120, which she has dates to the late tenth to eleventh centuries. She attributes these sherds to Fustat workshops based on their similarity with early Fatimid lustre painted bowls, the colour and texture of the clay on some pieces, and the liveliness of design which she suggests can be distinguished from the more static design of pieces from the western Mediterranean (Philon, *Early Islamic*, pp.37-38).

<sup>71</sup> Abdelaziz Daoulati, 'La production vert et brun en Tunisie du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Étude historique et stylistique', *Le Vert et le Brun*, p.69. The yellow base is coloured with antimony; Daoulati has suggested that the yellow glaze slightly predated the white (tin)-glazed ceramics, which can be dated from the tenth century (Daoulati, p.71). They are decorated with geometric, figural and epigraphic motifs in greens, browns, yellow and white.

<sup>72</sup> The date of installation of the tiles has been attributed to 828-63 with reference to an historical document which was written in the fifteenth century, so should be treated with caution. The style of the polychrome lustre tiles is directly comparable with Samarra lustre however. For the historical reference see Georges Marçais, *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairawan*, (Paris, 1928) pp.9-13. See also Mason, *Shine Like the Sun*, p.226.

<sup>73</sup> O. Bobin *et al*, 'Where did the lustre tiles of the Sidi Oqba Mosque (AD 836-63 in Kairouan come from?', *Archaeometry* 45 (2003) pp.569-77.

capital, which then moved to Mahdiyya, at Sabra-Mansuriyya the Zirid capital in present-day Tunisia, as well as in the Qal'a of the Banu Hammad in Algeria and at Madinat al-Zahra in Cordoba.<sup>74</sup> She argues that these centres had developed close ties through family and political connections, particularly through the Zirids, which may explain the similarities in technique and iconography of the ceramics produced at these centres.

### **Caliphal and Taifa ceramics**

It may have been through these political affiliations with North African centres and the movement of craftsmen between them, that green and brown tin-glazed ceramics arrived in al-Andalus by the early tenth century under Umayyad rule.<sup>75</sup> The exterior was usually lead-glazed and the interior tin-glazed, and the pieces were decorated in a distinctive style of motifs against a plain white background, often with scalloped edged motifs around the interior rim.<sup>76</sup>

The place where the ceramics were first made has been associated with Madinat al-Zahra, the centre of wealth and caliphal power in tenth-century al-Andalus, where many of these ceramics were excavated. This style in al-Andalus came to be known as 'caliphal ware' on the basis of that material found around the palace city.<sup>77</sup> There has

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<sup>74</sup> Marilyn Jenkins, 'Western Islamic Influences on Fatimid Egyptian Iconography', *Kunst des Orients*, 10:1, (Wiesbaden, 1976), p.92.

<sup>75</sup> Analysis of the glaze compositions shows that the Spanish potters used the same tin glazing techniques as the potters in Raqqada and Fustat. See Molera *et al*, 'Chemical and Textural', p.338.

<sup>76</sup> Escudero Aranda, 'Madinat al-Zahra' pp.159-160.

<sup>77</sup> The dating is based on the stratigraphy of a sherd which was excavated at a level consistent with the tenth century, and the knowledge that the palace city was sacked and abandoned following the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in 1031. See Escudero Aranda, 'Madinat al-Zahra', p.135.

been an assumption that these glazed ceramics were made for the Umayyad court and were part of courtly production.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the concentration of ceramics found at Madinat al-Zahra, no workshops or kilns have been discovered at the palace city to date.<sup>79</sup> The large area of the city where the population lived, outside of the royal palace area, has not been excavated, so the question of whether these ceramics were made at Madinat al-Zahra, or in nearby Cordoba, has not yet been definitively established.<sup>80</sup>

Until production sites at Cordoba or Madinat al-Zahra are explored, the possibility that this type of ceramic was also made contemporaneously in regional centres during the caliphal period cannot be ignored.<sup>81</sup> Very similar ceramics, in terms of their form, technique (green and brown pigments painted on a tin glaze) and decorative style, were made in other centres in the caliphal and taifa periods, including at Medina Elvira (Granada), Benetússer (Valencia) and Murcia in the tenth century,<sup>82</sup> and at many more sites including Albarracín (Aragon) and Denia in the eleventh century.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Miguel Barceló, 'Al-mulk: el verde y el blanco. La vajilla califal omeya de Madinat al-Zahra', Antonio Malpica Cuello (ed.), *La cerámica alto-medieval en el sur de al-Andalus*, (Granada 1993), pp.291-301.

<sup>79</sup> Evidence of workshops has been found at Cordoba city however. See Andre Bazzana, C. Lemoine, Maurice Picon, 'Le problème de l'origine et de la diffusion des céramiques dites califales: recherché préliminaire', *Segundo Coloquio Cerámica Medieval del Mediterraneo Occidental*, Toledo, 1981 (Madrid, 1986), p.34. Also a recent paper given at the IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo. Association Internationale pour l'Etude des Ceramiques Médiévales Méditerranéennes (AIECM2), Venice, 23-28 November 2009, discussed the discovery of large pottery workshops to the northwest of the city of Cordoba with kilns and ceramics (but not caliphal ware as yet) indicating production dates between the ninth and eleventh centuries; I. Larrea Castillo and R. Lopez Guerrero, 'Un nuevo conjunto alfarero situado en el sector nororiental de Qurtuba (Siglos IX-XI)' (unpublished).

<sup>80</sup> Andre Bazzana *et al*, 'Le problème', p.33.

<sup>81</sup> Escudero Aranda, 'Madinat al-Zahra', p.138.

<sup>82</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun*, p.112 nos.93-94. See also Navarro Palazón, 'Los materiales islámicos del afar antiguo de San Nicolás de Murcia', *Fours de potiers et testares médiévaux en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Madrid, 1990) pp.29-44.

<sup>83</sup> Bazzana *et al*, 'Le problème', p.33-34 lists many of the sites where caliphal-style green and brown ware has been found in al-Andalus.

The motifs that decorate the caliphal and taifa ware include figurative (mostly quadruped animals), geometric, floral and epigraphic motifs. The figures are painted in a naturalistic style, which often shows the animal in motion, or a human figure drinking. There were two epigraphic styles used throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries from the earliest pieces – a simple and graphic ‘kufic’ style and a floriated, highly decorative ‘kufic’ style. Both styles were found on wares excavated at Madinat al-Zahra, as well as at Benetússer near Valencia and at Albarracín. The inscriptions read ‘al-mulk’ (an Arabic word that means sovereignty or kingship), an extremely common formula with a benedictory and talismanic function which was used on countless Islamic art objects, and does not necessarily associate them with courtly production.

The similarity among the caliphal and taifa wares made across al-Andalus is such that it leads one to speculate that they may have all been made in the one centre and then distributed across al-Andalus. However, clay analysis has shown this not to be the case and confirmed the existence of different production sites.<sup>84</sup> In particular, a tenth-century centre of production was confirmed in the Valencia region, specifically at the sites of Almiserá, Vall de Gallinera, Oliva and Atzavares (Vall de Laguart), all near Denia. Analysis of the clay of these Valencian ceramics, compared with contemporary ceramics from the Cordoba (Madinat al-Zahra) centre and ceramics from Almería, indicates a distinct production centre in Valencia.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Molera *et al*, ‘Chemical and Textural’, pp.331-340. Molera *et al* conducted chemical and microstructural analysis which confirmed the differences in ceramic bodies and glaze compositions between tin-glazed ceramics excavated in Cordoba (Madinat al-Zahra) and Murcia from the tenth century, Zaragoza and Mallorca from the eleventh century, and Dénia and Granada from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The results of the study cannot be considered definitive, as the sample size chosen was small (from Cordoba, for example, only three samples, one from Cordoba and two from Madinat al-Zahra, were chosen, while thirty samples were examined from Zaragoza). Their aim was to cover a wide geographical area and a large chronological period to give an overview of tin-glazed production, rather than to focus on the early period of tin glazing (p.333).

See also Bazzana, *et al*, ‘Le problème’, for clay analysis of Valencian ‘caliphal’ ware which proves a local Valencian production.

<sup>85</sup> Bazzana, *et al*, ‘Le problème’, pp.35-37. ‘Nous aurions ainsi la confirmation de l’existence d’ateliers ayant fonctionné en assez haute époque, et qui pourraient être contemporains de ceux de Madinat al-Zahra.’ (p.37).

These regional sites of production were centres of wealth and power by the late tenth and early eleventh century. Benetússer near Valencia was the seat of the Banu Tuzar, a prominent group in the tenth century where many of the decorated ceramics were found, alongside unglazed and undecorated ware.<sup>86</sup> Albarracín was the seat of the Banu Razin by the tenth century, who maintained close relations with Cordoba. They supplied the caliph's troops with provisions in 935 when camped at Muel, for example, and supported with armed men during a rebellion on the frontier in 936; in 955 and in 957-58 the head of the Banu Razin visited Cordoba. The opportunities for the movement of potters to Albarracín in this period were frequent.

It seems clear that by the eleventh century, the aesthetic of the tin-glazed ceramic decorated with green and some brown pigments had become popular across the western Islamic world. It was probably from these regions that the style and technique subsequently spread to Sicily, mainland Italy, southern France and Catalonia.

### **Mallorca: Taifa ware**

Mallorca was a taifa kingdom from 1018 which was linked with Denia on mainland Spain for most of the eleventh century, before becoming an independent taifa state briefly from the end of the century until 1115, when the islands became part of the Almoravid state. Six *bacini*, which were embedded in the facade of San Piero a Grado, were analysed and found to have been made in Mallorca in the eleventh century.<sup>87</sup> Typologically, the forms are different from the caliphal tin-glazed ware; the Mallorcan pieces have a foot ring with flaring walls and vertical sides, a similar shape to other *bacini* in Pisa from other western Mediterranean sources particularly Sicily and

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<sup>86</sup> Escribà, *La Cerámica Califal de Benetússer* (Valencia, 1990).

<sup>87</sup> Berti and Mannoni., 'Céramiques de l'Andalousie', p.435.

Tunisia.<sup>88</sup> But in terms of glazing techniques, these pieces are identical to the caliphal/taifa ware from mainland al-Andalus. The interior surface is tin-glazed and decorated with green and brown pigments, while the exterior has a yellowish lead glaze covering.<sup>89</sup>

Some of these Mallorcan *bacini*, together with ceramics excavated in Mallorca (particularly those from Testar Desbrull, eleventh century),<sup>90</sup> show a range of geometric and radial imagery, which are similar to peninsular caliphal/taifa ware. Rosselló Bordoy points out the similarities between the Mallorcan ceramics and the caliphal/taifa ware from mainland al-Andalus, in their decorative style, emphasising particularly the use of central cruciform shapes in both traditions (see *Figs.68-69*).<sup>91</sup> But unlike the caliphal ware, there are no figurative images among the surviving Mallorcan ceramics, while new motifs were introduced, particularly boats and radiating star shapes, which are not found among the caliphal/taifa ware. These ceramics, which were made in Mallorca, attest to a continuing development of the tin-glazed, green and brown ware throughout the eleventh century.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Berti *et al*, 'Alcuni bacini', pp.100-101.

<sup>89</sup> Berti and Mannoni, 'Céramique de l'Andalousie', p.435. They describe the decorated interior with its tin glaze and the undecorated exterior with its lead glaze of the green and brown bacini from al-Andalus. See Escudero Aranda, 'Madinat al-Zahra', p.128 for a technical description of the caliphal/taifa ware, where he notes that the vast majority of the pieces are glazed with a tin glaze on the decorated interior while the exterior, undecorated surface is covered with a lead glaze.

<sup>90</sup> Rosselló Bordoy and J. Camps Coll, 'Excavaciones arqueológicas en Palma de Mallorca. Sondeos practicados en la antigua Casa Desbrull', *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico. Arqueología*, 2 (Madrid, 1974), pp.133-68

<sup>91</sup> Rosselló Bordoy, 'La decoración de los ataifores hallados en Pisa', in *Naves Andalusíes en Cerámicas Mallorquinas* (Palma de Mallorca, 1993), pp.52-54.

<sup>92</sup> A paper given at the IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo, Association Internationale pour l'Etude des Ceramiques Médiévales Méditerranéennes (AIECM2), Venice, 23-28 November 2009, highlighted the recent discovery of an Islamic ceramics workshop from the taifa period at Carrer de Botons in Palma de Mallorca. The find, datable to the eleventh century, included updraught kilns and ceramics similar to the Mallorcan *bacini* in green and brown on tin glaze. See Coll *et al*, 'La alfarería musulmana de época taifa del Carrer de Botons de Palma de Mallorca' (2009 unpublished).



*Fig.68* Tin-glazed bowl, excavated in Mallorca, eleventh century. Museu de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca. Inv.2169.

*Fig.69* Tin-glazed bowl, excavated in Valencia region, eleventh century. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia. Inv.1/9262.

### North Africa

By the end of the eleventh century, evidence for green and brown tin-glazed ware seems to have disappeared from mainland al-Andalus; evidence of its production does not appear again until the late twelfth century under Almohad rule.<sup>93</sup> Archaeological evidence *does* indicate, however, that the technique continued in North Africa throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Tin-glazed ceramics decorated with green and brown pigments were made across Berber North Africa in the eleventh to twelfth century, perhaps as a continuation of the tenth century Fatimid tradition in the region. The Hammadids were a branch of the Berber Zirid rulers of Kairouan, who founded their fortress, the Qal'a of the Banu Hammad, in 1007 in present day Algeria (in the modern département of Constantine). They ruled until the mid-twelfth century, mostly at the Qal'a, which was excavated in

<sup>93</sup> This absence of evidence does not, of course, mean that this ware necessarily was not being made in al-Andalus from the late eleventh to twelfth centuries. Ceramics excavated from archaeological sites are difficult to date precisely. However, the Spanish ceramics from the Pisan *bacini* dating to this time were made using different techniques: lustre-painted ware, monochrome glazed and slip painted ware, *cuerda seca* ware, stamped ware, as well as a fragment of sgraffito ware. Berti, 'Pisa-Spagna', pp.20-25.



the twentieth century.<sup>94</sup> The ceramics that were excavated from the site include tin-glazed ware decorated with green and brown pigments, often with the addition of yellow, in geometric, epigraphic and figural motifs. Most of the Hammadid ware has geometric or epigraphic motifs, often arranged with the designs radiating from the centre, in a similar style to the caliphal/taifa ware.

Eleventh and twelfth century Tunisian green and brown tin-glazed ceramics are well represented among the Pisan *bacini* as well as having been excavated extensively from sites at Raqqada, Carthage and Mahdiyya among others.

The most important finds in early Tunisian ceramics were made at Raqqada, the main satellite town of Kairouan, where tin-glazed ceramics were made alongside slipware decorated ceramics from the tenth century.<sup>95</sup> Carthage seems to have been the centre for tin-glazed production from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, where green and brown pigments were used to decorate with frequently figurative motifs, alongside yellow and turquoise pigments.<sup>96</sup>

### **Al-Andalus: Almohad ware**

Evidence for the local production of green and brown tin-glazed ware is found again in al-Andalus from the late twelfth century, including in both Mallorca and Ciudad Real.<sup>97</sup>

Glazed ceramics excavated from the Almohad fortress site of Calatrava la Vieja and Alarcos, in the present day province of Ciudad Real, have been dated precisely to

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<sup>94</sup> Lucien Golvin, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qal'a des Banû Hammâd* (Paris, 1965). See also Georges Marçais, *Les Poteries et Faïences de la Qal'a des Benî Hammâd (xie siècle)* (Paris, 1913).

<sup>95</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun*, p.82 no.36.

<sup>96</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun*, p.72.

<sup>97</sup> Retuerce Velasco and de Juan García, 'La Cerámica Almohade en Verde y Manganese de la Meseta', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 6, (Jaén, 1998), p.244. See also the appendix pp.249-51, which shows that analysis of the clay confirms it was locally sourced.

between 1195 and 1212 based on the short dates of occupation of the site.<sup>98</sup> They are mostly deep bowls with flared sides leading to straight edges, with a pronounced foot ring. Almost all of them are tin-glazed on the interior and lead-glazed on the exterior. Most are decorated with radial leaf designs, expressive in style but without the naturalism of the caliphal/taifa ware. One bowl is decorated with two birds in profile flanking a large central *kham*s motif.<sup>99</sup>

### **Mallorca: Cueva dels Amagatalls Almohad ware**

This Almohad phase of decorated tin-glazed ware is also evident in ceramics from early thirteenth-century Mallorca. The technique seems to have coexisted alongside very different styles of decorated ceramics, the partial *cuerda seca* and *sgraffito* ware such as that found at the Carrer del Zavella site in Palma de Mallorca (*Fig.45*), which are now held by the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona and the Museu de Mallorca in Palma de Mallorca. Tin-glazed ware dated to the same period was found in the Cova des Amagatalls, a cave site in northern Mallorca.<sup>100</sup> The decorated ceramics include a range of shapes of bowls similar to the Mallorcan *bacini*, with flared sides and flat bases and a foot ring, as well as bowls more similar to the early caliphal/taifa ware with smooth, rounded flaring sides curving to a small foot ring. The decoration, mostly using a green pigment but also some brown, includes geometric and epigraphic motifs, in a simple graphic style, which is reminiscent of the ceramics of the previous centuries in caliphal/taifa Spain.

However, linking these with the later Paterna ware, is the technical fact that for the first time in al-Andalus, unlike the earlier caliphal/taifa ware, or ceramics from Alarcos, or

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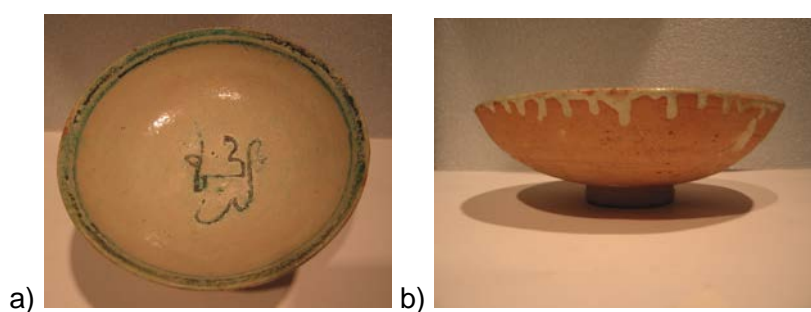
<sup>98</sup> Retuerce Velasco and de Juan García, 'La Cerámica Almohade'.

<sup>99</sup> For a full exploration of the image see Retuerce Velasco and de Juan García 'La Cerámica Almohade', pp.246-47.

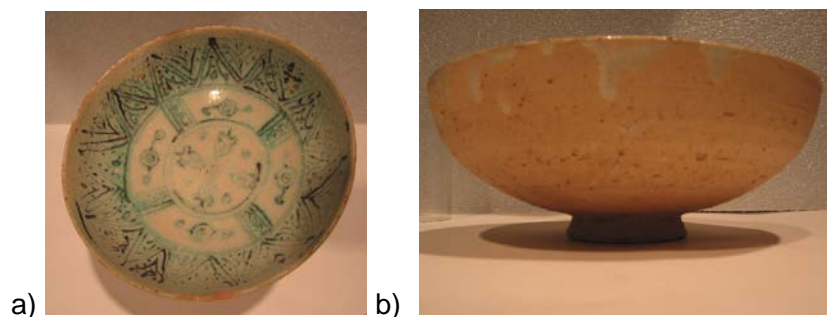
<sup>100</sup> Miquel Trias, *Notícia Preliminar del Jaciment Islàmic de la Cova dels Amagatalls*, 1 (Palma de Mallorca, 1982), p.14. Trias dates the ceramics to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

even contemporary thirteenth-century Pisan tin-glazed *maiolica arcaica*, the exteriors of these Mallorcan pieces were left unglazed. In my opinion this cannot be explained as an attempt to save money by doing away with exterior glaze. This was not everyday ware - the ceramics found at Amagatalls were part of a large find of domestic articles, including a very high quality, lustre-painted bowl with tin glaze on the exterior, which seem to have been hidden on purpose in the cave; this suggests that these tin-glazed ceramics was considered to be of high quality by the owner.

Instead, I would suggest that the unglazed exterior was an aesthetic choice by the potter; the deep red colour of the clay contrasts dramatically with the creamy tin glaze which sometimes drips down the edges of the bowls; perhaps it was also a way of showing off the high quality glaze used to decorate the interior (*Figs.70-71*). It was also a pragmatic choice, an understanding that the glazing of the interior of the vessel alone is enough to make it impervious to water or oil. It was this practice of glazing the interior and leaving the exterior unglazed which was to flourish in Paterna, as well as in Gela in Sicily, Catalonia and Teruel (see below) in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.



*Fig.70* Front (a) and profile (b) of a tin-glazed bowl, Mallorca, thirteenth century, excavated at Cova des Amagatalls. Museu de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca. Inv.13.501.



*Fig 71* Front (a) and profile (b) of a tin-glazed bowl, Mallorca, thirteenth century, excavated at Cova des Amagatalls. Museu de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca. Inv.13.500.

### **Italy, France and Catalonia**

By the thirteenth century, ceramics made with tin glaze and decorated with green and brown were beginning to be made in the Christian ruled areas of the western Mediterranean, in centres such as Gela in Sicily, Pisa, Orvieto, Marseille and Barcelona.

### **Sicily**

It was not until the thirteenth century, when Sicily had been under Norman rule for over a century, that tin glazing was used on the island in ceramics known as 'Gela' ware from the south. They used a mix of green, brown and yellow pigments to decorate, frequently using figurative motifs, against an opaque background. The motifs show a commonality with Paterna ware in their simple depictions of animals against a white background, such as in this bowl below.



*Fig.72* Tin-glazed bowl, Gela, Sicily, thirteenth century. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Caltagirone, Sicily.

(Up to this point, the ceramics made in Islamic Sicily (during the tenth and eleventh centuries) were similar in form and colour to those of Tunisia, using green and brown as well as yellow pigments, but technically they were different, as to achieve an opaque glaze, quartz granules were added rather than tin oxide; otherwise a green or yellow base was used with a lead glaze<sup>101</sup>.)

The practice of leaving the exterior of the open vessel unglazed, links Paterna ware with these ceramics from Gela in Sicily, as well as with ceramics from Almohad Mallorca and with thirteenth-century Catalonia and Teruel ware. Although this may be to some extent a coincidence, there might alternatively have been a direct link between the potters in Almohad Mallorca with those working in the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>102</sup>

### **Lucera, Apulia**

This same technique was brought to Lucera in mainland Italy with the expulsions of the Sicilian Muslim population in the thirteenth century. Tin-glazed ceramics decorated with green, brown and yellow pigments, using motifs including fish, human figures and

<sup>101</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun*, p.120.

<sup>102</sup> I am grateful to Graziella Berti for pointing out the different external glazing treatments with me and for showing me the Pisan *bacini*.

animals, very similar to the material made in Sicily, were produced here.<sup>103</sup> While the colours include yellows, blues and browns as well as white and green, the motifs are familiar from Paterna ware, suggesting a common language of ceramic decoration.



*Figs.73,74,75* Three tin-glazed and decorated plates, excavated at Castello Federiciano, Lucera, thirteenth century. Museo Civico di Lucera, Italy. Centre: Inv.7092. (Images © Museo Civico di Lucera, Italy.)

### **Pisa** (*maiolica arcaiche*)

The use of tin glazing in northern Italy seems to appear first along the more westerly regions. This may have been due to close commercial and cultural relations with the Crown of Aragon in eastern Spain and the relatively frequent movement of people and goods between the two. It is also possible that the availability of imported tin in these regions stimulated the adoption of the technique by potters in western coastal regions. Tin is not widely available in Italy and the mid-Italian regions imported all their tin as well as much of their lead.<sup>104</sup> Large merchant ships from Genoa and Pisa began to trade in Cornish tin through Flanders at about this time, which would have meant easier access to tin than previously for the potters.

Local production of green and manganese ware in Pisa began in the early thirteenth century, known as *maiolica arcaica*. Unlike Tunisian tin-glazed ware, which was usually

<sup>103</sup> David Whitehouse, 'Apulia' *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, (Florence, 1986), pp.573-586.

<sup>104</sup> Jean-Marie Martin, 'Plomb et étain en Italie méridionale au moyen-âge', *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, Siena-Faenza 1984 (Florence, 1986), pp.277-278.

glazed on both surfaces with the same tin glaze, or Sicilian 'Gela' ware, which (like Paterna ware) was tin-glazed on the interior and the exterior unglazed, the Pisan ceramics were tin-glazed on the interior and lead-glazed on the exterior, a practice which had previously been exclusive to ceramics from caliphal and taifa al-Andalus. This feature links Pisan *maiolica arcaica* directly with the tin-glazed ceramics from al-Andalus rather than those from mainland Italy or the Byzantine or eastern Islamic world. Pisa was the first area in the Tuscan region in which this type of tin glaze was used, anticipating the slightly later developments of *maiolica* ware in nearby Siena, Arezzo, Florence and Montelupo.<sup>105</sup> It has been suggested that master potters may have introduced the technique of tin glazing directly to Pisa from eastern al-Andalus in the early thirteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

Stylistically, the motifs used were mostly geometric ones, in green and brown colours (yellow was not used until the early fifteenth century in Pisa).<sup>107</sup>

## Orvieto

The technique began to be used in Orvieto, north of Rome, in the thirteenth century, where tin-glazed, green and brown ceramics were made (without the yellow colour), similar to those made in Pisa.<sup>108</sup> The motifs include simple vegetal and geometric motifs, as well as figurative images including birds in profile. Like Tunisian ware, both interior and exterior were tin-glazed.

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<sup>105</sup> Berti and Laura Cappelli and Riccardo Francovich, 'La Maiolica Arcaica in Toscana', in *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, Siena-Faenza 1984 (Florence, 1986), pp. 484- 510.

<sup>106</sup> Berti, *Pisa. Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo. Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali* (Florence, 1997) p.39.

<sup>107</sup> Berti *et al*, 'Trasformazioni', pp.397-398.

<sup>108</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun*, pp.149-150.



Fig.76 Front (a) and profile (b) of a tin-glazed bowl (interior and profile), Orvieto, thirteenth to fourteenth century. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia. Inv.1/9263.

### Marseilles, France

A rescue excavation in 1991 in the Sainte Barbe region of Marseilles revealed the site of a pottery workshop and ceramics dating from the early thirteenth century. A proportion of these were tin-glazed ceramics decorated with green and brown, with a lead-glazed exterior. Nine small kilns were found, one of which was an Arab style updraught bar kiln, similar to those used in Iberia, which supports a hypothesis of technological transfer through potters trained in Islamic regions. Stylistically the ceramics are close to those made in Sicily and North Africa.<sup>109</sup>

### Catalonia

Tin-glazed ceramics decorated with green and brown pigments, unglazed on the exterior (like Paterna ware, Almohad Mallorcan ware and Gela ware in Sicily), began to be made in the Catalan region in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Results of an excavation in Barcelona in 1999 can be securely dated from numismatic evidence between the years 1230 and 1260.<sup>110</sup> 'Manresa ware' was named after the town near Barcelona where this type of ceramic was first discovered, though recent

<sup>109</sup> Henri Marchesi and Thiriot and Vallauri (eds.), *Marseille, les ateliers de potiers du XIIIe s. et le quartier Sainte-Barbe (V-XVIIe s.)*, (Paris, 1997), pp.324-331 n.55.

<sup>110</sup> Julia Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, 'Pisa Arcaica i Vaixella Verda al Segle XIII. L'inici de la producció de pisa decorada en verd i manganès a la ciutat de Barcelona', *Quaderns d'Arqueologia i Història de la Ciutat de Barcelona*, 2:3 (Barcelona, 2007), pp.139.



archaeological investigations show that the centre of production was probably in Barcelona.<sup>111</sup> Decorated in green and brown with zoomorphic, vegetal and geometric motifs, stylistically the figures and animals on the Catalan ceramics are more crudely drawn than those of Paterna. Whereas in Paterna and Teruel ware, copper green tends to be the dominant colour, used in blocks to highlight the motifs that are drawn in detail in manganese brown, in the Catalan ware the green is used much more sparingly. Manganese brown dominates the palette, and the green is not used in blocks but as simply to highlight particular areas.

### **Conclusions**

It is clear from this contextual chronology that the fashion for tin-glazed ware decorated with green and brown pigments survived for nearly four centuries, with more or less continuous production, in workshops that were situated in regions around the Mediterranean coast. A narrative emerges that encompasses areas under both Christian and Islamic rule, and demonstrates that Kühnel's theory of a continuous production from caliphal to medieval times may be accepted if material from the wider, western Mediterranean geographical area is taken into account.

Similarities among ceramics found around these western Mediterranean coastal regions can be readily understood when the sea is considered not so much as a barrier between landmasses as a unifying factor which linked coastal peoples both economically and culturally.<sup>112</sup> Braudel described his idea of this unifying Mediterranean as 'a unit...with its many regions, so different yet so alike, its cities born

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<sup>111</sup> Beltrán de Heredia, 'Pisa Arcaica', pp.138-158.

<sup>112</sup> Fernand Braudel explored the essential unity of the Mediterranean world for the sixteenth century in *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, trans. by Siân Reynolds (London and New York, 1972-73). More recently, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell have examined the idea of the Mediterranean as a connecting force in *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), see chapter V 'Connectivity' pp.123-172. See also Constable, *Trade and Traders*, p.32, where she notes in particular the proliferation of trade routes from al-Andalus in the Mediterranean from the tenth to fourteenth centuries.

of movement, its complementary populations...'.<sup>113</sup> More recently, Horden and Purcell refined this idea of the Mediterranean as one defined both by its complex regional diversity and by its overall unity, writing that 'the Mediterranean world is made distinctive not only by its fragmentation but by its connectivity.'<sup>114</sup> They argue that this connectivity was maintained by marine activity, and that long-distance voyages were made along coastlands and island chains wherever possible.<sup>115</sup> These many maritime routes around the Mediterranean served to link coastal ports and towns with each other, fostering a common language of goods, materials and iconographies.

The continuation of the green and brown technique and style in centres around the western Mediterranean, should be understood in the context of this fluidity of movement. The migration of potters with the fluctuations of local economies, had an important role to play in the creation of this 'common language' in material culture. Geographical mobility was a 'perennial reality' in the Mediterranean, as people were driven from their homes by violence or need.<sup>116</sup> Horden and Purcell describe the 'wandering artisan' as a characteristic Mediterranean figure from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, who moved with the irregular distribution of resources.<sup>117</sup>

Mudéjares in particular were no stranger to migration, given the unstable politics of thirteenth-century Iberia. The immigrant status of the Paterna potters was discussed in Chapter Three ('The Identity of Paterna Potters'), where it was suggested that potters from Teruel may have moved to establish workshops in Paterna. Similarly, the potters making tin-glazed ceramics in Lucera in Italy were Mudéjares who had been resettled from Sicily, bringing their techniques and styles with them. It is through this movement of people, this 'cycle of emigration and return'<sup>118</sup> that characterized the Mediterranean,

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<sup>113</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean* p.1239.

<sup>114</sup> Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p.343.

<sup>115</sup> Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp.138-41.

<sup>116</sup> Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp.383-87.

<sup>117</sup> Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p.386.

<sup>118</sup> Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p.386.

that green and brown ware spread throughout the various sites outlined in this section, and was able to establish itself so successfully in Paterna.

In addition, the influential role played by merchants who fostered the production of green and brown ware may also explain the flourishing of this technique in sites in Italy, southern France, Catalonia, Teruel and in Paterna in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In their examination of glazed ceramics excavated from the northeastern-Mediterranean town of Kinet, Blackman and Redford investigate why a particular type of ceramic, manufactured in different centres but remarkably uniform in terms of size, shape and iconography, became fashionable across this region from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. They argue that these ceramics are evidence of a common taste that was a direct result of close trade links fostered by Italian merchants, who actively promoted the production of certain types of ceramics in the region.<sup>119</sup>

Similarly in the western Mediterranean, the fashion for green and brown ware across the region may be attributable to the particular patronage of this type by the dominant merchants, whether these were French textile dealers or Genoese merchants. García Porras and Fábregas García note that demand in Italy was particularly high for glazed ware from Spain precisely at the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>120</sup> That this period coincides with the establishment and flourishing of the industries in Paterna and subsequently Manises, strongly indicates that merchants must have played a vital role in their success, despite the apparent lack of documents pertaining directly to Paterna ware.

The 'common language' that was clear in the iconography of objects from the western Mediterranean by the late thirteenth century, extended beyond ceramics into other

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<sup>119</sup> Blackman and Redford, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet', pp.92-94.

<sup>120</sup> García Porras and Fábregas García, 'La cerámica española en el comercio Mediterráneo bajomedieval. Algunas notas documentales', *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 27-28 (Murcia, 2003-2004), p.14.

media and portable objects such as manuscripts, textiles and metalwork. This will be explored in more detail in Part Three, with a close examination of the iconography of Paterna ware, its origins and meaning.

## Part Three

## **Chapter Nine**

### **ICONOGRAPHY: General Themes**

It has been argued that the search for the meaning of iconography in Islamic art is a futile one, and that individual motifs should be interpreted simply as 'appropriate ornament'.<sup>1</sup> This theory suggests that because we cannot fully understand the social context within which an object was created, the medieval Islamic world for example, we are unable to understand these motifs, which, the argument goes, may not have any precise meaning anyway but are simply meaningless ornament for decorating an object.

This argument is a seductive one, especially when faced with such a complex mix of imagery as is displayed on Paterna ware. However, by dismissing the motifs as meaningless, from the figurative imagery to geometric and vegetal ornament, important insights into the ceramics and the world that created them would be missed. It is precisely by studying these motifs, their origins and development that we can begin to understand the social context of an object's creation. We can never know the original intentions or level of understanding of the artist who painted a motif onto a plate, but this may not be of primary importance. The iconography used by the Paterna potters was an expression of the society within which they lived, an illustration of the resources, connections and images they had available to them and the cultures that made an impact on their world.

The first part of this chapter discusses the connections between Paterna ware and both the ceramics made in contemporary Teruel and the painted ceilings of Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver Watson, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18, 2 (Oxford, 2007), pp.299-302. Review of Bernard O'Kane (ed.) *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand* (Edinburgh, 2005).

churches and palaces in the contemporary Crown of Aragon. These are linked through shared iconography and style. These similarities might imply a shared group of artists or workshops involved in the decoration of both ceramics and painted ceilings. Central to the themes that are common to the ceramics and painted ceiling, are those of chivalry and courtly love. Thematic links with a mainly literary culture that spread in popularity across al-Andalus, southern France and the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are examined here in detail.

The sources of many of the motifs can be traced to the Islamic world, in particular geometric and vegetal motifs as well as pseudo Arabic writing and the *khamis* for example. While Fatimid art and Fatimid ceramics in particular played an important role in the diversification of imagery on ceramics and the dispersal of these images around the Mediterranean littoral through trade, it seems likely that by the fourteenth century the Paterna potters were primarily influenced by images from closer to home (particularly as no Fatimid ceramics have been found in all the excavations in Paterna and Valencia city). Similar iconography and motifs can be found on many different media from al-Andalus and the western Mediterranean world, including textiles, ceramics, architectural decoration and manuscripts, which seem to be the principal connections that are explored throughout this chapter.

These two strands of influence, the existence of a common style of painting perhaps linked through a workshop, in which the aesthetic of courtly love is clearly dominant, as well as the use of motifs from Islamic sources, provide a backdrop to the bulk of this chapter, which comprises a systematic focus on individual types of images found on Paterna ware. This detailed examination of particular motifs is broadly divided into two groups: firstly, the motifs which are more influenced by the Christian world of southern France and Aragon, and secondly, the motifs which are related to an Islamic visual culture. This section begins with the figurative imagery on Paterna ware, which is predominantly linked with the courtly world of medieval chivalry. The large number of

animal figures seem to relate to both western and Islamic traditions, while the pseudo Arabic writing, the *khams* motif and the many geometric motifs appear to be rooted in an Islamic visual culture.

### **A school of painting?**

A study of the iconography of Paterna ware cannot be undertaken without a close examination of certain other works of art with which it seems to be intimately connected. The decoration of the ceramics made in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Teruel in Aragon is often indistinguishable from that on Paterna ware (although the different clay colour quickly differentiates material from the two sites). The painted wooden ceiling of the mid-thirteenth-century church of Santa María, known as the 'Sangre de Liria' in the town of Liria, Valencia, shows similarly close connection with Paterna ware, both stylistically and iconographically (the church and these iconographic connections are examined in further detail in this section); the motifs painted on the wooden ceiling of the thirteenth-century cathedral of Santa María de Mediavilla in Teruel are also closely connected with those on Paterna ware.

Jaume Coll has recently proposed that the similarities in painterly styles and motifs between the Paterna ceramics and the ceilings of Liria, and that of Teruel cathedral, are so close that they may indicate the existence of a decorative school with its own formalised 'language'.<sup>2</sup> This 'school of painting', which he dates to between the late thirteenth century and the second third of the fourteenth century, would have produced artists capable of decorating a range of media including ceramics and painted ceilings. It is problematic to use the term 'school of painting' without more individual knowledge of particular painters or their workshops, which is not available; instead we should consider the possibility of an organised workshop as an explanation for these similarities in motif and style.

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<sup>2</sup> Coll and Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina (eds.), *La Edad de Oro del Arte Valenciano* (Valencia, 2009), Cat. no. 84 p.255. See also Coll, *Imatges del Cavaller* (2008).



This theory of an organised workshop is premised on two factors: the remarkable similarities in the *iconography* on both media (ceramics and painted ceilings) and the *style* of painting of the images. I would include the glazed ceramics from Teruel among the material for which these artisans were responsible; the painted ceiling at Teruel included by Coll in the group should however be included with reservations, as stylistically it is different from both the ceramics (Teruel and Paterna) and the painted ceiling at Liria, as is demonstrated in the comparison of images below (*Figs. 88-90*).

Of course, it is possible that the craftsmen responsible for the ceramics were simply copying motifs from either the painted ceilings or from common sources such as manuscripts or textiles, which were made by different groups of craftsmen. But combined with the very close stylistic similarities between the ceilings and ceramics, there is also sufficient variety in the painting of motifs such as the figure holding two fish for example (see *Figs. 106-8* and *Cats. 6-8* on pp. 255-6) that slavish copying from one to the other or from one source to another can not be assumed.

Given that the craftsmen responsible for carpentry and painted ceilings at this time in Aragon were predominantly Mudéjar, it is not difficult to imagine a context within which the painters of ceramics would have had access to church and palace interiors. Indeed, a ceramic tile from Teruel was excavated at a church interior in Teruel (see *Fig. 91* where this is discussed), which suggests that this style of painting may have decorated more than the church ceilings (however, Paterna ware has not been excavated in specifically religious contexts to date). From the fifteenth century, we know that painted ceramic tiles known as *socarrats* were made by Paterna potters to decorate the ceilings of palaces and noble residences (see *Figs. 58-59*). This indicates that there was a continuing tradition of potters being involved in the decoration of ceilings, whether on painted wood panels or on ceramic tiles.

The existence of such an organised group would change the way we think about how ceramics in Paterna were decorated; it indicates a division of labour within the

workshops which may have meant that specialist painters and not the potters were responsible for the decoration of the vessel, for the figurative and more complex motifs at least. Coll suggests that the potters would have been responsible for decorating the ceramics throughout the production of Paterna ware, but that they would have carried out the simpler designs, the geometric and schematic imagery for example, while specialist painters painted more complex, figurative imagery.<sup>3</sup> By way of comparison, there is a frieze along the painted ceiling at Teruel that shows carpenters at work, building the ceiling itself; another image shows painters at work, painting wooden panels while being offered drinks (*Figs.77-78*). These separate images support this idea of a division of labour, the short and distinctive tunic of the carpenter contrasting with the long dress of the artist indicating that these were jobs carried out by different groups of craftsmen.



*Figs.77-78* Details of painted images on the wooden ceiling of the cathedral of Santa María de Mediavilla, Teruel (From Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, *La techumbre de la Catedral de Teruel* (Teruel, 1999)).

This division of labour may also have applied to Paterna ware, where the high quality, confident style of the figurative imagery and the similarity of the motifs to those on the Liria and Teruel painted ceilings and the Teruel ceramics, suggest that specialist painters may have been at least partially responsible for the figurative imagery on the ceramics.

The analysis below of the Teruel ceramics and the iconography of the painted ceilings, particularly that of Liria, demonstrates that there must have been some connection

<sup>3</sup> Coll *et al.*, (eds.), *La Edad de Oro*, Cat. no. 84 p.255.

between these and Paterna ware, despite a lack (to date) of documentary or physical evidence which might prove the existence of an organised 'school' of artists.

### Teruel ceramics

The ceramics made in Teruel are technically, iconographically and stylistically very close to Paterna ware. Both use the same tin glazing technique on the interior with unglazed exteriors, decorating the interior surface with similar figurative, geometric, vegetal and epigraphic motifs painted in a similar style. The images below of Teruel ware (*Fig.79*) and Paterna ware (right) demonstrate this similarity, with the same trilobed arch and three vertical panels framing a central figure. The use of an abstracted motif derived from Arabic writing is found in pieces from both Teruel and Paterna (*Fig.80*); these two dishes share the symmetrical motif in the centre and the spiral motif in the background. Typologically, Teruel and Paterna ware have much in common, and forms made in both centres include open plates and bowls, single handled jugs with pronounced lips, as well as various shapes of basins and jars.



*Fig.79* Left: Tin-glazed plate made in fourteenth-century Teruel. Museo Provincial de Teruel, Teruel.

Right: Cat.29



*Fig.80* Left: Tin-glazed plate made in fourteenth-century Teruel, (13.5 x 3.5cm). Museo Provincial de Teruel, Teruel, Inv.7966.

Right: Cat.239

There is a difference in the colour tones of the green and brown pigments, making the Teruel ware a darker, richer green, which tends not to blur into the white tin glaze as much as it does in Paterna ware. The clay colour of Teruel ware is also a darker colour (see chapter seven); it is also distinguishable from Paterna ware by the unglazed rim, which tends to be left in Teruel ware, revealing this dark red clay.

Excavations in Teruel have revealed evidence of workshops, including kiln wasters, tripods and kiln tools, from the mid-thirteenth century, where they were found alongside coins from the time of Jaume I (1222-1276).<sup>4</sup> The earliest documentary evidence of a pottery industry in the town is from 1245.<sup>5</sup> Commercially, the industry seems to have reached its height in the first quarter of the fourteenth century; in 1319 ceramics from both Malaga and Teruel were mentioned among the possessions of a Valencian citizen, Miquel Lloret.<sup>6</sup>

Excavations at the fortified castle of Albarracín, just outside of Teruel, have revealed a stratigraphy in which Teruel green and brown tin-glazed ware appeared immediately above Islamic ceramics without a break in the chronology. This led Isabel Zamora to suggest that Teruel ware should be dated to just after the Valencian conquest of 1238, following which potters from Valencia may have moved to Teruel and set up their industries in the town.<sup>7</sup> This early tin-glazed green and brown ware may also have been made in Albarracín itself however, as fragments of such ceramics have been excavated at the castle in Albarracín which were made not with the dark red clay of Teruel, but with a paler, yellow tone clay similar to that of Almohad ceramics from the region.<sup>8</sup>

The scale - in terms of volume of production and the geographical extent of the workshops - of the ceramic activity in Teruel is not clear, as production sites may lie

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<sup>4</sup> Julián M. Ortega Ortega and Josefina Pérez Arantegui, *Operis Terre Turolii. La Cerámica Bajomedieval en Teruel* (Teruel, 2002) p.35.

<sup>5</sup> Ortega and Pérez Arantegui, *Operes Terre Turolii*, p.34.

<sup>6</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera* p.25.

<sup>7</sup> Isabel Alvaro Zamora, *La cerámica aragonesa*, 2 (Zaragoza, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Ortega and Pérez Arantegui, *Operes Terre Turolii*, p.124.

beneath the old town, which is a protected site. Purely in terms of the amount and variety of tin-glazed ware in museum collections today, Paterna seems to have been a much larger, more organised ceramics centre by the mid-fourteenth century.

The stylistic, technical and typological similarities between Paterna ware and Teruel ware suggest that there was a direct relationship between the towns. There may even have been a direct transfer of individual potters or workshops from one centre to the other. Artal de Luna, to whom Paterna and Manises were granted by Jaume I in 1237, was a member of a large noble Aragonese family, which was also closely associated with the town of Teruel;<sup>9</sup> he or his sons might have brought potters from their region to set up a new glazed ceramics industry in Paterna.<sup>10</sup> Such an industry would not only have generated valuable tax revenues for the Luna family from the sale and export of the goods, but also provided glazed ceramic tableware to satisfy the emerging fashion in the early fourteenth century for using ceramic rather than wooden vessels.<sup>11</sup>

### Painted ceilings

The wooden ceilings of the Crown of Aragon which were made and decorated by Mudéjar craftsmen are numerous and well known. The iconography used on these painted ceilings and the style in which these motifs were painted are relevant to this study of Paterna ware. Some of the ceilings, such as those in Teruel and Liria, were painted with rich scenes of secular life, including dancing and jousting figures, fantastic beasts, sirens, knights and ladies and scenes of work (carpenters, masons etc.).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Antonio Ubieto, *Orígenes del Reino de Valencia*, (Zaragoza, 1979) p.32. Also Moxó y Montoliu, *La casa de Luna*.

<sup>10</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana*, p.70.

<sup>11</sup> Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera*, pp.26-27.

<sup>12</sup> The painted ceilings of the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra are perhaps the most well known and studied of the fourteenth century ceilings of Iberia (although they were painted on leather and gesso rather than wood). Jerrilynn Dodds, 'The Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology', *The Art Bulletin*, 61: 2. (1979), pp. 186-197, explored the influence of western chivalric imagery on the paintings, comparing them with fourteenth century French tapestries and French carved ivory caskets. More recently, the iconography is discussed at length in a recent volume dedicated to the paintings, Cynthia Robinson and

A significant number of these painted wooden ceilings dating to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have survived in the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon in both secular buildings and Christian religious buildings.<sup>13</sup> The richest and most complex imagery is found on the painted ceilings of the cathedral of Santa María de Mediavilla in Teruel (Aragon) (*Fig.81*), and the church of Santa María in Liria (Valencia) (*Fig.83*).<sup>14</sup> Both churches were built and decorated by Mudéjar craftsmen, during the second half of the thirteenth century, after the early thirteenth century conquests by Jaume I. The wide range of imagery on both ceilings includes some religious scenes (such as a crucified Christ or the journey of the Holy Family to Bethlehem), but these are greatly outnumbered by the large number of secular scenes of figures, birds and beasts.<sup>15</sup> Iconographically, the ceiling at Teruel shows a similar aesthetic of courtly and chivalric motifs as that in Paterna ware, such as figures on horseback, musicians, dancing ladies and dragons.

But it is on the painted ceiling of the church at Sangre de Liria that a remarkable closeness is found not only iconographically but also in terms of style, with the images on Paterna ware.<sup>16</sup> It is these painterly and freely drawn images that offer the most

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Simone Pinet (eds.), *Courting the Alhambra. Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings* (Leiden, Boston, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> In particular, the ceiling of the church of la Sangre de Onda (Castellón); painted beams of the palace at the Casa del Almirante de Aragon in Valencia; Arabic inscriptions on the painted ceiling of the parochial church at Vallibona (Castellón); the now destroyed painted ceiling of the Casa del Obispo de Sagunto (Valencia); and the painted ceiling of the convent chapel of Santo Domingo de Xàtiva, now at the Museo de l'Almodí, Xàtiva. See the catalogue of a recent exhibition held at the Museo de Belles Arts de Castellón: Arturo Zaragozá Catalán (ed.), *Jaime I (1208-2008). Arquitectura año cero*, 13 November 2008 to 11 January 2009, (Valencia, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> The central nave of the Teruel ceiling has a collar-beam roof (*armadura de par y nudillo*) construction, which is painted with motifs throughout. The ceiling of the church in Liria is an angular ceiling with pierced stellar motifs between the cross-beams, the beams painted with figural, geometric and vegetal motifs. For a detailed explanation of the structure of these and other decorated Mudéjar ceilings in Spain see Josep F. Ráfols, *Techumbres y Artesonados Españoles* (Barcelona, 1925, repr. 1945).

<sup>15</sup> For the dates of the decoration of Teruel cathedral, see Angel Novella Mateo, 'La techumbre Mudéjar de la catedral de Teruel', Emilio Rabanaque Martín (ed.), *El Artesonado de la Catedral de Teruel* (Zaragoza, 1993), pp.10-13; for Liria see Amadeo Civera Marquino, *Techumbre gótico-Mudéjar en la Iglesia de Santa María o de la Sangre en Liria* (Liria, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> This similarity between Paterna imagery and the images on painted ceilings including that of the Sangre de Liria church was first noted by Folch i Torres, *Notícies*, pp.29-31.



direct source of comparison for the Paterna imagery, especially for Paterna figurative images.<sup>17</sup>

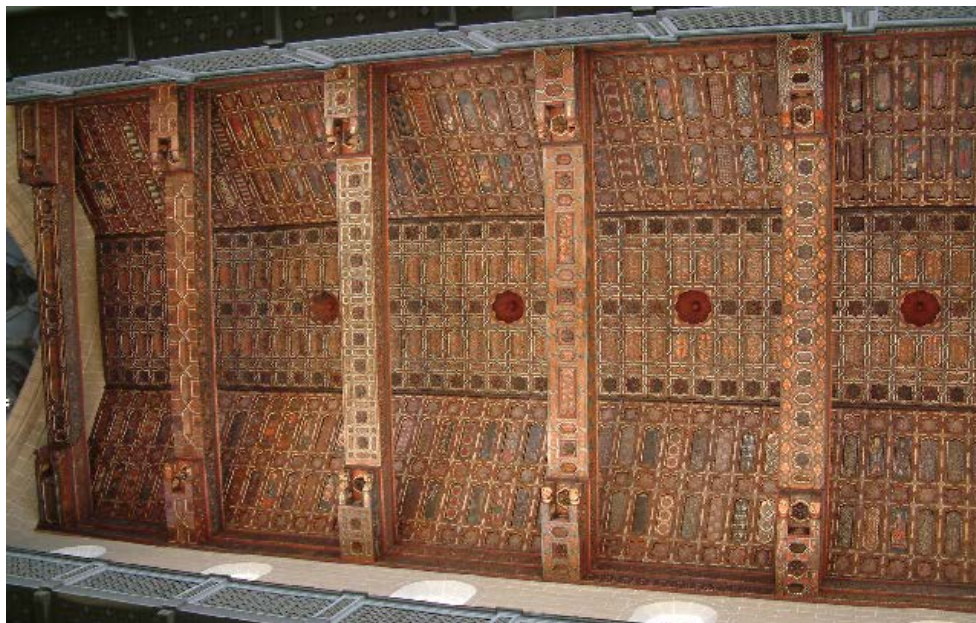


Fig.81 View of the painted wooden ceiling of the cathedral of St María de Mediavilla, Teruel.

The church was built in the town of Liria, on the western edges of the Valencian *huerta* some twenty kilometres west of Paterna, after the town's surrender to the forces of Jaume I in 1239. The Muslim population quickly became a mixed Muslim and Christian one, with a Christian population large enough to warrant building and decorating a church. The church was probably built some time between 1248 and 1273.<sup>18</sup> The earliest mention of the church of Sangre de Liria was in a document of 1273 when it was given to the monastery of Portaceli by the bishop of Valencia.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Following extensive restoration in the 1990s, the paintings have been restored to their full colour; but remain unpublished to date. Black and white images are published by Vicente Lampérez y Romea, 'Iglesia de la Sangre, de Liria (Valencia)', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 74, (Madrid, 1919) pp.203-204. See also Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*. For details on the church architecture, see Josep A. Llibrer i Escrig, *El finestral gòtic: l'església i el poble de Lliria als segles medievals* (Liria, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> In 1248 Jaume I made twenty eight donations of houses and land from the Muslim population of Liria to Christian immigrants; in 1262 the Mudéjar population was ordered to pay taxes to the Christian ruling family of the town (Registres de Jaume I 1238-76). Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.

<sup>19</sup> Personal communication with Vicent Escrivà, Director of the Museu Arqueològic de Lliria, Liria. See also Ràfols, *Techumbres*, pp.67-8.

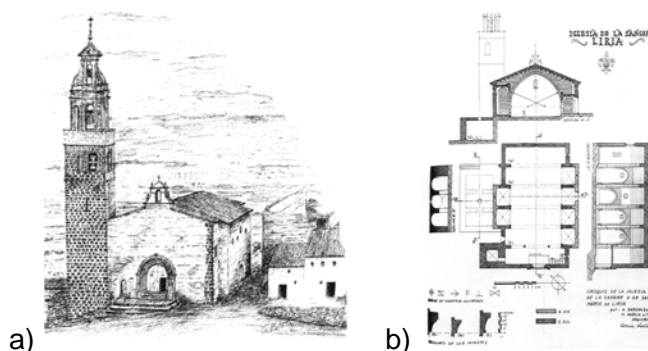


Fig.82 Line drawing (a) and plan (b) of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*, 1989).

It was originally a brick building with a single nave with Gothic arches and a wooden roof.<sup>20</sup> The polychrome painted ceiling of the nave was completed sometime between 1260 and 1324. While no documentary evidence remains to prove who was responsible for the ceiling, its style of construction and decoration are consistent with the other ceilings in the Aragon and Valencia regions that are all attributed to the work of Mudéjar craftsmen.<sup>21</sup>



Fig.83 View of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria, Valencia, showing the wooden panel beam decorated with a frieze of figures. (Photograph © Vicent Escrivà)

The condition of the ceiling had badly deteriorated by the late nineteenth century, when several restoration projects were undertaken to stabilise it. A number of the decorated

<sup>20</sup> Burns, *Crusader Kingdom*, p.88.

<sup>21</sup> Zaragoza Catalán, (ed.), *Jaime I*.



beams apparently went missing from the church during the early twentieth century;<sup>22</sup> in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 the church and some of the side chapels were badly damaged, but most of the painted beams remained intact.<sup>23</sup>

The motifs on the painted ceiling include a female figure with a double fish tail, which can be directly compared with images of a similar figure in Paterna ware. Pairs of figures often flank a central tree and gesture to one another, like the paired figures in Paterna ware. Paired animals including a pair of large birds are painted in a style very like the birds in Paterna ware. Crowned, dancing female figures and musicians, riders on horseback and jousting knights and scenes of hunting, often set within trilobed arches, decorated with scrolled vegetal and floral motifs; all are features of Paterna imagery, painted in a similar style (these individual motifs are explored in detail in the examination of individual motifs throughout this chapter).



<sup>22</sup> Personal communication with Vicent Escrivà, director of the Museu Arqueològic de Llíria, Liria.

<sup>23</sup> Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.



*Figs.84,85,86,87* Four details from the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (Photographs © Vicent Escrivà).

While the imagery on the Teruel ceiling is equally diverse and includes many of the same motifs as those on the Liria ceiling and Paterna ware, stylistically the Liria ceiling is closer than the Teruel ceiling to the style of paintings on Paterna ware. The image of the dancing lady, for example, in both Paterna and Liria wears a long sleeved dress, simply drawn with a central crease at the legs and widening at the base for the feet, the



figure with large open palms, long loose hair, face shown in three-quarter profile with large facial features (see below left and *Fig.88*).<sup>24</sup>



Left: Cat.27

*Fig.88* Right: Detail of one of the painted beams from the Liria ceiling. (Photograph © Vicent Escrivà.)

By comparison, the three images of dancers on the Teruel ceiling (below) show a very different way of depicting the figure, with more elaborate and detailed drapery, a twisted posture with additional elements like jewellery or a bird, and the faces shown in detail, with large features, tied-up hair and a range of postures.



*Figs.89-90* Details of three separate panels from the painted ceiling of the cathedral at Teruel. (From Rabanaque Martín, *Catedral de Teruel*, pp. 69 (left) and 60 (centre/right).)

<sup>24</sup> Further detailed comparisons between Paterna ware and the Liria ceiling are provided throughout this chapter, particularly in the detailed look at the iconography of the human figure.

It is not possible to determine whether there was any direct contact between the Muslim craftsmen who decorated the Paterna ceramics and the Muslim craftsmen who painted the ceiling at Liria. No local ceramics industry has been discovered at Liria, although fragments of ceramics from Paterna and Manises have been found in the town.<sup>25</sup> (This is not unusual however, as some Paterna ware is found in many fourteenth-century contexts in the Valencia region and does not indicate significant direct contact between the potters and ceiling painters).

There is a small group of tin-glazed, green and brown painted rectangular ceramic tiles which were made in Teruel and excavated in fourteenth-century Christian church contexts, such as at the Iglesia de San Francisco in Teruel (*Figs.91-92*).<sup>26</sup> Similar decorated tiles have not been excavated at Paterna; but their production in Teruel, where the ceiling of the cathedral was also being painted with similar motifs to those used for the ceramics, suggests a direct connection between the ceramics industry and the decoration of church interiors. The context in which these painted tiles were used in the churches is not clear, but they were probably affixed as decoration to the walls of the church.<sup>27</sup>



*Fig.91* Left: Tin-glazed tile made in fourteenth-century Teruel, (22.5cm x 16cm). Excavated at the church of San Francisco, Teruel. Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, Inv.2362.

*Fig.92* Right: Tin-glazed tile made in fourteenth-century Teruel, (21.3cm x 11.2cm). Excavated at the church of San Francisco, Teruel. Fundación Francisco Godia, Barcelona. (From Ortega and Arantegui, *Operes Terre Turolii*, no.36)

<sup>25</sup> Personal communication with Vicent Escrivà, director of the Museo Arqueològic de Llíria, Liria (January 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana*, pp.102-3.

<sup>27</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana*, p.103.

These tiles survive in small numbers and there is no evidence for their production in Paterna (although, as mentioned above, *socarrats* or painted tiles were made in Paterna from the fifteenth century to decorate ceilings). But the fact that these figuratively-painted ceramics were probably used to decorate churches provides a context for that direct link between potters and the painters of the church ceilings.

### The courtly love tradition

The stylistic similarities between the ceramics and painted ceilings are clear, but the two are also linked thematically in their frequent depictions of themes of courtly love and chivalry. These include images of paired dancing figures, court entertainers, knights on horseback and hunting scenes, which are explored in more detail in the larger canvas of the painted ceilings, but appear prominently in the figurative imagery of Paterna ware. More widely, these themes also link Paterna ware with the painted ceilings at the Alhambra, at Palazzo Chiaramonte in Palermo and at Teruel Cathedral, suggesting a wider fashion for this type of iconography in the fourteenth century.

The literary and oral traditions of courtly love poetry were developed in the Provençal and Catalan regions during the twelfth century, largely as a result of cultural links with the Arab literature of al-Andalus.<sup>28</sup> This literary convention was propagated across Europe by troubadours, particularly from southern France, and by the thirteenth century was immensely popular throughout western Europe including in the court of Aragon at Valencia.

The lyrical poems that explored themes of courtly love and chivalry, many of which are still well known today, include epic tales such as the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Roman de la Rose* and the tale of *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolette*, written in Romance language and made popular in a western Christian context.<sup>29</sup> But this literary tradition was probably imported into southern France through the songs and performances of pre-existing Arab poetry from al-Andalus, which explored similar themes of chaste love (*al-ḥubb al-‘Udhī*), in works such as ‘The Dove’s Neck Ring’ (*Tawq al-ḥamāmah*) written in Cordoba in the early eleventh century by Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Boase defines courtly love as ‘a comprehensive cultural phenomenon [...] which arose in an aristocratic Christian environment exposed to Hispano-Arabic influences’. Roger Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship* (Manchester, 1977) pp.129-30.

<sup>29</sup> María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History. A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1987), p.71.

<sup>30</sup> Roger Boase, ‘Arab Influences on European Love-Poetry’, Salma K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 1 (Leiden, 1992) p.460.

The lyrical tradition was disseminated in al-Andalus largely through oral performance, such as that of singing girls, known in Arabic as *qiyān*, who were expected to know a huge repertoire of songs to perform for the courts. The exact mode of transmission of these texts and songs from Arabic speaking al-Andalus to Romance speaking Provence and Aragon, is not known. However, it has been convincingly demonstrated that the Arabic and Romance literary traditions are so close in structure, style and content that a direct connection cannot be denied.<sup>31</sup>



Fig.93 *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (Vat. Ar. Ris. 368) f.10r. Vatican Library, Rome. (Image © Vatican Library, Rome)

Visual representations of this lyrical tradition are found in both cultural contexts. Only one illustrated literary text from al-Andalus in Arabic survives today, the thirteenth-century *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*. This high quality, unicum manuscript offers a tantalising glimpse of a possible tradition of writing down and illustrating these courtly love tales in al-Andalus.<sup>32</sup> The iconography of the fourteenth-century Nasrid painted ceilings of the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra, Granada, are filled with images of chivalric knights, turreted castles and courtly scenes which, it has been argued, may be related to an early, Arabic version of the courtly love tale of *Floire et Blancheflor* which would subsequently become popular in Provence.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Boase, 'Arab Influences', pp.457-82. Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean: Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (London, New York, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Robinson in *Medieval Andalusian*, highlights the links between the courtly subject matter and stylistic approach which unite the images of the thirteenth century illustrated Arabic manuscript from al-Andalus, the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, and tales of chivalric romances popular in southern France which take place within an Iberian context, such as *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

<sup>33</sup> Robinson argues that the iconography of the painted ceilings of the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra, Granada, represents scenes from the stories of *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Tristan de Leonís* (an Iberian version of *Tristan and Isolde*), adapted by the Nasrids to illustrate their own ideological concerns. The origins of these chivalric tales are not to be found in France, she

Many more illustrated literary manuscripts have survived from the western, French tradition of courtly love literature. One of the most popular was the *Roman de la Rose*, written in France in two stages during the thirteenth century. The work was intended both as an entertainment and as an instruction on the art of courtly love. Over 200 illustrated manuscripts exist to the present day, many dating to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is known that one richly illuminated manuscript was present in Valencia by the fifteenth century, but given the mercantile and noble connections of the Aragonese court with the society of southern France, it was probably known in the Valencia region from the time of the story's first distribution in the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

Images depicting knights and ladies engaging in the plots and intrigues of courtly love also appear in French contexts on textiles, carved stone cloister capitals, and on carved and enamelled caskets such as this early Limoges casket from the court of Aquitaine in France, from around 1180. Decorated with scenes of love and combat, the scene below (*Fig. 94*) shows a minstrel playing an instrument while a lady dances.

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argues, but in ninth-century Iberia, possibly from earlier Arabic texts. Cynthia Robinson, 'Arthur in the Alhambra? Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning in the Hall of Justice Ceiling Paintings', *Courting the Alhambra*, (Leiden, Boston, 2008), p.168.

The discovery of an early Spanish version of the *Floire et Blancheflor* text, dating to the fourteenth century, hints at its possible Arabic origins. It has been suggested that the story was known in al-Andalus as early as the tenth century, making a transition from early Islamic (Abbasid) texts to the Andalusi realm a possibility. Patricia E. Grieve, *Floire and Blancheflor and the European Romance* (Cambridge, New York, 1997) pp.22-23. See also Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: rethinking difference in Old French literature* (Philadelphia, 2006) p.86.

<sup>34</sup> Heidrun Ost, 'Illuminating the *Roman de la Rose* in the Time of the Debate: the manuscript of Valencia', in Godfried Croenen and Peter F. Ainsworth (eds.), *Patrons, authors and workshops: books and book production in Paris around 1400*, 4 (Louvain, 2006) pp.405-436. The Valencian manuscript is at the Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat de Valencia, MS 387, and was probably made for Phillippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy in the fifteenth century. It was given to Frederico de Aragón (1451-1504) between 1502 and 1504.





Figs.94-95 Above left and below right: Enamel casket with troubadours, c.1180AD, from the court of Aquitaine. Limoges, France. The British Museum, London, Inv.M&ME 1859.1-10.1. (Image © The British Museum London.)

Above right: Cat.18

Fig.96 Below left: Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*).

The courtly and chivalric ideal was also disseminated through music and in particular song. One of the most important fourteenth-century manuscripts of polyphonic songs written in French was probably compiled at the court of Aragon for king Joan I, between 1392 and 1396.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Known as the Chantilly Codex, it comprises one hundred and twelve compositions including popular courtly dances like the rondeau, ballade and virelais. It included stories set to music of the adventures of crusading knights, as well as tales of love including a song dedicated to the love of a lady and lord which is actually written (notated) in the shape of a heart. Terence Scully, 'French Songs in Aragon: The Place of Origin of the Chansonier Chantilly, Musée Condé 564' in Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, *Courtly Literature: culture and context. Selected Papers from the 5th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society* (Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9-16 August, 1986), (Amsterdam, Philadelphia, 1990) p.518.

The Castilian poet Juan Ruiz (1283-1350) wrote his popular book of courtly love, the *Libro de Buen Amor* (Book of Good Love) in the first third of the fourteenth century,<sup>36</sup> and he described how he composed songs for the Arab *qiyān*, the singing girls who were very appreciated in the courts of Aragon, Castile and Navarre.<sup>37</sup>

No illustrated copies of this text survive; but in the kingdom of Aragon it is in the carved cloister capitals, the painted ceilings of palaces and churches and the glazed ceramics of Paterna and later Manises, from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that we can see the artistic visual representations of this lyrical, poetic tradition of courtly love.<sup>38</sup>

The figurative imagery in Paterna ware and on the Liria ceiling seem to be closer stylistically to the western Provençal representations of courtly love than with the smaller corpus of material from al-Andalus which deals with the same theme. However, it is not possible to extricate European, Christian, western influences from the Andalusí, Arab influences in Paterna, as if these were in some way untouched, pristine sources, immune to mutual cultural interaction. In Port St Symeon ware found at Kinet and made in centres across the northeastern Mediterranean, Blackman and Redford found 'fragmentary vessels whose style and iconography referred to, but were not a part of, medieval Islamic civilization[...]. The hybridity of culture along the shores of the Levant was expressed in many ways.'<sup>39</sup> Similarly in fourteenth-century Valencia there were not two competing, separate cultures; it was itself a hybrid culture, a place where the lyrical traditions and the visual representations of these themes of courtly love were themselves invented and created.

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<sup>36</sup> Juan Ruiz and Raymond Smith Willis, *Libro de buen amor*. Edited, with an introd. and English paraphrase, by Raymond S. Willis (Princeton, New Jersey, 1972).

<sup>37</sup> See Boase, 'Arab Influences', p.467.

<sup>38</sup> These themes of chivalry and courtly love would become more ubiquitous in the figurative depictions of blue and lustre painted ceramics made in fourteenth and fifteenth century Manises. See Josep Vicent Lerna, 'Imaginaire, céramique et héritage littéraire du Moyen Âge', *Le Calife, le prince et le potier* (Paris 2002) p.117, in which he explores the literary connections of Manises lustreware in some detail.

<sup>39</sup> Blackman and Redford, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet', p.106.

## **ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE: Motifs in focus**

The following detailed look at the individual motifs that appear on Paterna ware will interpret their possible significances and examine their use on other forms and media. In most instances it is not possible to point to a direct source for the origins of a motif. This study will instead attempt to highlight the complexities of the iconography, examining connections with images on other media, including the painted ceilings and ceramics of Teruel and Liria, carved stone capitals from Christian religious contexts, manuscript illuminations from southern France, as well as ceramics and textiles from al-Andalus and Fatimid Egypt and connections with literary sources.

### **Human Figures**

The representations of human figures in Paterna ware can be divided into four general groups. The first is portraits of female figures dancing or entertaining (playing castanets), with both or one arm raised, sometimes with the body twisted in a posture of movement. The figures are usually alone or in pairs on the vessel, although one vessel shows a large group of dancing figures (Cat.35). The dancer is often holding something in both hands – two fish, or castanets, or a floral scroll or a vegetal motif.



Above left: Cat.32, right: Cat.5. Below Left: Cat.30, right: Cat.25.

The second group shows standing figures in pairs or alone. The figure usually gestures with one or both hands, and sometimes holds a round object in one hand. The paired figures are shown in conversation with each other. Most of the figures are female, although there are some portraits of male figures, possibly monks.



Left: Cat.40. Centre: Cat.52. Right: Cat.57.

The third group is a small number of vessels depicting mounted warriors and knights on horseback. The fourth group are small vessels showing busts of knights and soldiers usually wearing armour.



Left: Cat.63. Right: Cat.71.

### Group One

The figures, some of whom hold objects in their hands including a pair of fish, a mirror or castanets, are the images that have historically attracted most attention among scholars. These are assumed to be female figures, because they are dancers who are traditionally female figures, and from their clothes (long dresses often with the a cinched waist, see Cat.10), their large eyes, long and heavy hair and their headwear (a crown or decorative band, see also Cat.10). She is found alone, in pairs and in a group; frequently shown with tilted hips in a posture of movement; often crowned and sometimes carrying a round object in her hand or in both hands.

Most scholars argue that the image of a dancer and entertainer is a courtesan, which is symbolic of the vice of lust, while the female holding the fish is a mermaid figure representing the vice of Vanity.<sup>40</sup> González Martí associated the image of the dancing figure with lust, identified by attributes such as the crowns and mirrors.<sup>41</sup> Most recently, Coll related the images of the female figure with troubadour literature and chivalric tales of courtly love, which include female characters of lust and sexuality.<sup>42</sup>

However, Martí and Pascual argue that the female figures should not necessarily be interpreted as negative images of vice.<sup>43</sup> They argue that while the source of the image of the figure with fish is the Romanesque mermaid figure, the negative association with vice and lust did not necessarily translate into the image on the ceramics. The Paterna dancing figures, they argue, are positive images that extend hand gestures of peace and authority, which give an impression of positive rather than negative sentiments.

The image of a dancing female figure similar to those found in Paterna ware, (Cat.35 for example, a detail of which is shown below right), is a common motif in many media including illustrated manuscripts, carved stone cloister capitals and painted ceilings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This painted image from a fourteenth-century French manuscript illustrating the story of the *Roman de la Rose* shows a line of dancing female figures with raised hands (Fig.97), like those figures on the Paterna plate (below right), which depicts a scene of festivity.

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<sup>40</sup> J. Amorós, 'Uns temes de la ceràmica de Paterna', *Butlletí dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1932) pp. 110-116. Amorós suggests that the circular objects in the hands of the dancers were not castanets or balls but mirrors, symbols of vanity, suggesting that the apparent preference among Muslim artists for symmetry led the Paterna artist to give the dancer two mirrors, one in each hand, instead of the single mirror which is the usual attribute of the Vice of Vanity.

<sup>41</sup> González Martí, 'Cerámica verde y morado de Paterna. La 'picaresca' en sus decoraciones', *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, (Valencia, 1958), pp.129-133.

<sup>42</sup> An example of this tradition of chivalric tales is found in the fifteenth century Valencian writer Joanet Martorell, author of the Catalan epic tale *Tirant lo Blanc*, published in 1490. The character of 'Plaerdemivida' (literally 'Pleasure of my life') is a temptress who tries to seduce Tirant with the princess. See Joanet Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, trans. by D.H.Rosenthal (Washington, D.C., 1996).

<sup>43</sup> Pascual and Martí, *La Cerámica*, p.125.





*Fig.97* Left: Detail of miniature showing figures dancing from a fourteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* manuscript. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Rothschild 2800 f.6r. (Image © BN, France).

Right: Detail of Cat.35.

This motif of dancing female figures also appears on one of a series of carved stone capitals in the cloister of the monastery of Santa María de l'Estany in Catalonia from the first third of the thirteenth century, where, like the castanet players in the Paterna images, the figures also play musical instruments (*Fig.98*).<sup>44</sup>



*Fig.98* Left: Detail of a carved stone capital in the arcade of the monastery of Santa María de l'Estany, Catalonia (left). (From [www.claustro.com](http://www.claustro.com), Juan Antonio Olañeta).

Right: Cat.25.

Musicians also often accompany the dancing figures on the Liria painted ceiling. Under a tri-lobed arch within an arcade, the figure dances opposite a musician on the other side of the tree (*Fig.99*). These comparative images show that dancers and musicians were depicted as part of a repertoire of celebratory scenes from daily life, not as warnings against immorality. While some of the Paterna figures may carry a moral message, as I suggest below, these dancers are positive figures of entertainment.

<sup>44</sup> This similarity was first noted by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 'Els temes de la ceràmica de Paterna en el claustre de l'Estany', *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 7, (Barcelona, 1921).



Fig.99 Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (Photograph © Vicent Escrivà).

### Vice or Entertainment?

A moral message may be suggested by the object held by many of the figures in Paterna ware, which has been identified either as castanets or as a mirror.<sup>45</sup> A mirror would tend to support the symbolism of vice which has been associated with the images of female figures in Paterna ware, as a mirror is traditionally the attribute of *Luxuria* or lust.<sup>46</sup> But the identification of the objects as castanets would suggest a very different message – one of more ‘innocent’ entertainment. It is important to distinguish between the depictions of mirrors, which may carry a moral message, and those of castanets, a dancer’s musical accompaniment without these moral implications.

An example of the contemporary use of the motif of the female figure holding a mirror representing *Luxuria*, is found in this detail of an illustration from a fourteenth-century French *Roman de la Rose* manuscript, in which the object is clearly a mirror as you can see the reflection of the lady in it (Fig.100).

<sup>45</sup> González Martí, ‘La ‘picaresca’, pp.129-133. Puig i Cadafalch, in ‘Els temes’, thought the figures were minstrels holding castanets which he related to scenes from the stone carved cloister capitals at Santa Maria de l’Estany. Kühnel, ‘Keramik’, pp.37-40, where he also related the woman with the fish to the Christian rite of baptism. Folch i Torres, *Noticies*, p.33; he suggested that the figures holding fish may represent some kind of game. Amigues, ‘La cerámica gótica-Mudéjar’, pp.141-158.

<sup>46</sup> George Bornstein and Theresa Lynn Tinkle, *The iconic page in manuscript, print, and digital culture* (Michigan, 1998) p.34.



*Fig.100* Miniature painting from a fourteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* manuscript showing a pair of figures, the lady on the right with a mirror. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, 5209, f.5r. (Image © BN, France.)

The small, circular objects held in the hand of the Liria figures (*Figs.101-102*) may also be mirrors, as in both cases (the figures on the left in each image), it is held raised in one hand to her face and she does not seem to be dancing which might justify her holding castanets.



*Ilustración n.º 18*



*Ilustración n.º 23*

*Figs.101-102* Details of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*).

In some instances in Paterna ware, notably the standing figures whose faces focus on a singular circular object in one hand, the objects held by the figures may be mirrors. The Paterna figure (below left Cat.50 and right Cat.52, on the left in both images) is not dancing, but holds a circular object high in one hand, while perhaps being admonished by her companion. In these cases, the single, examined circular object in Paterna ware may indeed be a mirror.





Left: Cat.50. Right: Cat.52.

But in other Paterna images, the figures are clearly holding castanets. The dancing figures who hold these circular objects do so in a different way from the standing ones; they hold them high above their heads and do not look directly at them (below left Cat.28 and right Cat.33).



Left: Cat.28. Right: Cat.33.

The pair of crowned dancers flanking the large vessel depicted on the plate (above right Cat.33) holds a circular object high, either side of their heads. The single dancing figure (above left Cat.28) holds one such disc in her raised hand, but she does not look at it, as the figure holding the mirror on the left in the Liria images (above) may be doing.

Similarly, this image of the busts of a pair of crowned female figures from the Liria ceiling (*Fig.103*), shows their hands linked in some kind of a dance, holding circular objects which from their small size and position in the hands and lack of focus on them, appear to be castanets rather than mirrors.



*Fig. 103* Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (Photograph © Vicent Escrivà)

There seem to be two types of disc objects among the images in Paterna ware: the one held by a standing figure and which is the subject of her gaze, and the one held high by a dancing figure. The former may be interpreted as a mirror in the tradition of the image of *Luxuria*, while the latter is most likely a castanet or accompaniment to a dance. Both these versions of the disc are also found in the Sangre de Liria ceiling, in similar situations. The two types of image, both moralistic depiction of vice and a light-hearted image of entertainment, are common motifs from the contemporary tradition of courtly culture in the medieval western Mediterranean world; this close examination of the female figures in Paterna ware reveals that this distinction was also made in the ceramics.

### **Female figure holding two fish**

The female figure who holds a large fish in each hand by the tail, is one of the most curious images found in Paterna ware (Cats.1-14). The figure is almost always shown with her body in full frontal position and her head in three-quarter profile, with her hips to one side, as if dancing. She usually wears a three-pointed crown or a more simple, ringed crown, although some of the figures do not wear any crown, in which case they usually have a thin band around their hair line, suggesting a head band or ornament of some kind. The fish are almost as tall as the figure, and are depicted with large staring eyes and scaled bodies.

This image has been interpreted as a symbol of the vice of temptation, the origins of which can be found in the mythological figure of the mermaid.<sup>47</sup> The iconography of the composite female figure with a single or double fish tail, is a common one in Romanesque art, appearing in stone carved capitals and medieval bestiaries in particular. In many of the images from this period, the upper part of the figure is naked showing her breasts and her legs have become a fish tail or sometimes two tails held up by her hands.<sup>48</sup>

The two-tailed mermaid is found in a fifth-century stone carving from Coptic Egypt,<sup>49</sup> as well as on many Romanesque carved capitals such as in the arcade of the twelfth-century monastery at La Seu de Urgell in Zamora (*Fig.104*) and the late-twelfth to fifteenth-century arcade of Monasterio Ripoll in Spain.<sup>50</sup>



*Fig.104* Detail of the decorated stone carved capitals around the portico of the north facade of the monastery at La Seu de Urgell, Zamora, Spain.

Amorós suggested that the Paterna image is a version of the mermaid, a symbol of the vice of *Luxuria*, which had been misunderstood by the Paterna potters and

<sup>47</sup> For example see Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana*, p.72. Coll notes that a similar image of a woman holding two fish was found on a paper fragment made in Xàtiva in 1385, but I have been unable to trace this source. See also Amigues, 'La Cerámica Gótico-Mudéjar', p.152. González Martí, *Loza*, pp.164-68 also noted the connection with the mermaid figure. He noted a ceramic bowl fragment made in thirteenth or fourteenth century Orvieto with a composite, crowned mermaid figure (whose legs have become a pair of fish tails), p.187 fig.285.

<sup>48</sup> There is extensive literature on the iconography of the mermaid in medieval art; in particular see the exhibition catalogue Arnaut Balis (ed.), *Sirènes m'étaient contées*, 20 November 1992 – 14 February 1993, Galerie CGER, Brussels (Brussels, 1992); also Pierre Burger and André Crémillieux, *La Sirène et le Chapiteau Roman* (Velay, 1997); Victor-Henry Debidour, *Le Bestiaire sculpté du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1961); Solene Daoudal, *Sirènes romanes en Poitou XI-XII siècles. Avatars sculptés d'une figure mythique* (Rennes, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> See Duthuit, G., *La Sculpture Copte: statues – bas-reliefs – masques*, (Paris, 1931).

<sup>50</sup> La Seu de Urgell, Zamora and Monasterio Santa María de Ripoll in Catalonia.

reinterpreted as a woman holding two fish.<sup>51</sup> Unlike the mermaid figures represented in carved stone capitals however, the Paterna women holding fish are not mermaids, but distinct female figures with their own full bodies, holding two clearly separate fish. They are fully clothed, often but not always wearing crowns on their heads. Unlike the semi-naked mermaid images, there is little overtly sexual about these images, they are without the connotations of fertility and lust that are obvious in the half naked, open-legged mermaids of the Romanesque tradition.

The composite figure of a woman and fish is not always the straightforward mermaid figure with which we are familiar from western fairy tales. It is found in Islamic art contexts, such as on a carved marble plaque fragment from twelfth- or thirteenth-century Syria or Egypt (*Fig.105*). In the lower niche, a pair of addorsed mermaid figures, albeit with single tails, is shown holding what appear to be jugs and perhaps cups in their hands. Other such niches in the plaque show fantastical beasts in pairs and singly, with a sequence of large fish around the outside edge.



*Fig.105* Carved marble fragment, decorated with a pair of mermaids in the lower cartouche. Syria or Egypt, twelfth to thirteenth century. 128 x 30cm. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Inv.7049. (Image © Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.)

<sup>51</sup> Amorós, 'Uns temes', pp.110-116.

The two-tailed fish woman is also a figure from European legend known as Melusine, the most famous version of which was compiled by Jean d'Arras in France in c.1393 as *Le Roman de Melusine*. It was written for the Duc de Berry partly as a chivalric romance, partly as Crusader narrative, the real purpose of which was as a form of propaganda tale to support the claims of the Duc to rule the Lusignan kingdom of France.<sup>52</sup> Melusine was a type of shape-shifting fairy spirit, often represented as a female figure with two fish or snake tails. It may have been this Melusine folkloric character, as much as the mythological mermaid figure associated with *Luxuria*, which was the origin of the Paterna woman with fish.

Close parallels to the Paterna images can be found in the paintings of the Liria ceiling (*Figs.106-108*). There are three separate images of women holding fish on the ceiling, all slightly different, which seem to fall somewhere between the Romanesque and Paterna categories. In the Liria ceiling, the women are fully dressed and crowned in at least one of the images. The fish are distinct animals, with their own heads and bodies, except for in one image where the heads of the two fish merge into one at the centre. The fish are represented in a similar way to the Paterna fish, with large scales, small fins, large eyes and a lined tail. However, although the Liria women are clothed and coloured differently from the fish, their full bodies are not represented. Only the very tops of their lower bodies are shown, an implicit suggestion of a composite, mermaid nature.



<sup>52</sup> Donald Maddox and Sara Sturn-Maddox, (eds.) *Melusine of Lusignan: founding fiction in late medieval France* (Athens, Georgia, 1996).





Figs.106,107,108 Details of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (Above and below right from Civera Marquino *Techumbre*. Below left photograph © Vicent Escrivà.)

Similar images can be found in Romanesque carved stone capitals (Figs.109-110), where the entire bodies of the fish are shown including the head, but the figure does not have her own legs. Like the Liria ceiling figures, they are not entirely mermaids with one composite body, but neither are they separate beings, like the Paterna images. The Liria figures are closest to the Paterna images in that they are similarly fully clothed and, in two out of the three images, they wear crowns.

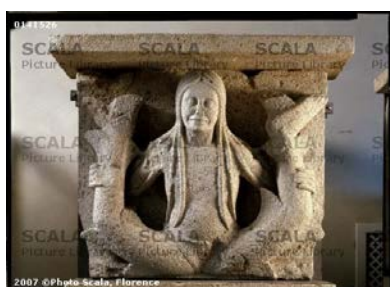


Fig.109 Above Left: Carved stone capital from Museo Lapidario del Duomo, Modena, Italy. By the workshop of Wiligelmo, eleventh century. (Photography © Photo Scala, Florence).

Fig.110 Above right: Carved stone capital from the twelfth-century cloister of the monastery of Sant Pere de Galligants, Girona.  
Below left: Cat.6. Right: Cat.8.

There are a small number of images which show a mermaid with a fish tail, but who also holds fish in her hands, for example carved in stone on the portal of the twelfth-

century church in Cunault, France, where a mermaid offers fish to two fishermen (Fig.111).<sup>53</sup>



Fig.111 Carved stone capital in the portal of the church of Notre Dame de Cunault, Loire, France. (From Arthaud, *Le Bestiaire*, Fig.332.)

The Paterna woman who similarly holds two fish in her hands may therefore be directly related to the iconography of the mermaid, or possibly find its origins in the folkloric character of Melusine. However, the Paterna figure has been changed and adapted, and the *process* of that change may be what is visible in the Liria ceiling images and some of the stone capitals, where the fish are shown with their entire bodies including distinct heads. This process has been taken further in the Paterna figures where the woman also has her own complete body. Kühnel suggested that the woman might be seen as a symbol of the church, the fish as the soul, and the image interpreted as the conquering of the soul by the church, with perhaps a reference to the baptismal rite in the form of the fish.<sup>54</sup> However, with the close association of the other images of dancing female figures in Paterna ware with the iconography of courtly literature in the medieval Mediterranean, and the proximity of many of the images to those found in carved stone sculptures of Romanesque and early Gothic churches, I would argue that

<sup>53</sup> Male, Émile, *Religious Art in France. The twelfth century. A study of the Origins of medieval iconography* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1978), p.336 suggests that the Cunault image may represent a local legend from the Loire region. However, a similar image of a single-tailed mermaid holding two fish in her hands is found on a wooden painted baldaquin illustrated in Jérôme Fronty *L'étrange 'bestiaire' médiéval du Musée de Metz. Un Poisson dans le plafond*, (Metz 2007) p.18. It is labelled here as a 'baldaquin de Sicile' but no further details are given and I have not been able to identify it. The image occurs in a roundel, alongside a series of thirty roundels each filled with an image of a fantastical animal, painted in red and gold colours on wooden panels. This occurrence in Sicily suggests a wider distribution of the motif than Male supposed.

<sup>54</sup> Kühnel, 'Keramik', p.39.

the mythological mermaid and folkloric Melusine characters are more likely the origins of the Paterna figure.

### Group Two: Gestures

Many of the standing figures are shown with prominent hand gestures, either alone or in pairs. While these gestures cannot be fully understood today, they clearly belong to a tradition of communication that was common in medieval art both in western Europe and in the Islamic world.

The potters, as well as those craftsmen who painted the church ceilings, may have had access to Romanesque religious painting, in particular painted altarpieces, through their decoration of church ceilings and ceramic tiles. The postures and gestures of the standing figures in Paterna ware are reminiscent of the way saints are depicted in contemporary Christian art, in particular the Virgin Mary, on painted altars such as the thirteenth-century altarpiece at Vich in northern Spain (*Fig.112* below). The Paterna standing figures are characterised by their cloaked, poised stance, slightly inclined head and large, somewhat exaggerated hands gesturing with open palm or pointed finger.



*Fig.112* Left: Detail of a thirteenth-century painted wooden altar frontal from Santa María in Lluça showing the Annunciation. Museo Episcopal, Vich, Spain. (Photography © Photo Scala, Florence).  
Right: Cat.41.

Garnier has interpreted many of the gestures used in medieval art in western Europe from his study of figurative imagery from medieval sculpture, stained glass, frescoes and manuscripts, both secular and religious. According to his study, the hand raised with the index finger or two fingers pointed upwards is a symbol of authority and



commandment.<sup>55</sup> The open palm is a response to this show of authority, a supplication or acceptance. It may also mean submission to a doctrine or the acceptance of a proposition or the making of peace.<sup>56</sup>

The thirteenth-century altarpiece at Vich (*Fig.112*) shows the angel with a raised pointed finger, with the Virgin Mary raising an open palm in response, a stance which is echoed in the cloaked, standing woman in the Paterna piece (*Cat.41*) who raises one hand in apparent supplication while the other holds her cloak.



Left: *Cat.54*.

*Fig.113* Right: Detail of a thirteenth-century painted altarpiece with Saints Peter and Paul, from Valle de Ribes, by Master of Soriguerola. Museo Episcopal, Vich, Spain. (Photograph © Photo Scala, Florence).

Similarly the painted altarpiece from Valle de Ribes in Catalonia (detail above right *Fig.113*), shows two saintly figures, one raising a pointed finger while the other raises one open palm, gestures which are echoed in the Paterna figures (above left *Cat.54*).

These gestures are not only found in religious images; the paintings in many of the *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts show similar gestures, such as the pointed finger and raised palm in the miniature below (*Fig.114*). As an image from the illustrated *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ* manuscript demonstrates, hand gestures were found in an Andalusī context (*Fig.115*), while a glance at an example of an image from a *Maqāmāt* manuscript from the central Islamic world, shows a similar use of hand gestures to suggest particular forms of communication (*Fig.117*).

<sup>55</sup> François Garnier, *Le Langage de l'Image au Moyen Âge. Signification et Symbolique*, 1 (Paris 1952) p.167.

<sup>56</sup> Garnier, *Le Langage*, pp. 174-75.



Fig.114 Left: Miniature from a fourteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Rothschild 2800 f45r. (Image © BN, France.)

Fig.115 Right: *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (Vat. Ar. 368) f22r. Vatican Library, Rome. (Image © Vatican Library, Rome.)

The prominence of gesturing figures in both the Teruel and the Liria wooden painted ceilings (eg. Fig.116), demonstrates that this motif had entered into the iconographic repertoire of Mudéjar craftsmen as well as in the Andalusí and northern European visual arts. Therefore, while the meaning of the gestures as described by Garnier may survive (authority, acceptance etc.), the gesturing, standing figures in Paterna were should not be interpreted as religious figures, imparting messages of dominance or submission to a Christian doctrine (although some, such as Cat.44, may include a religious element). Some of the images, such as those detailed above of figures holding a mirror to their face being admonished by another, can be interpreted in a more general sense as figures of morality, while others have a more ambiguous meaning (eg. Cat.39).

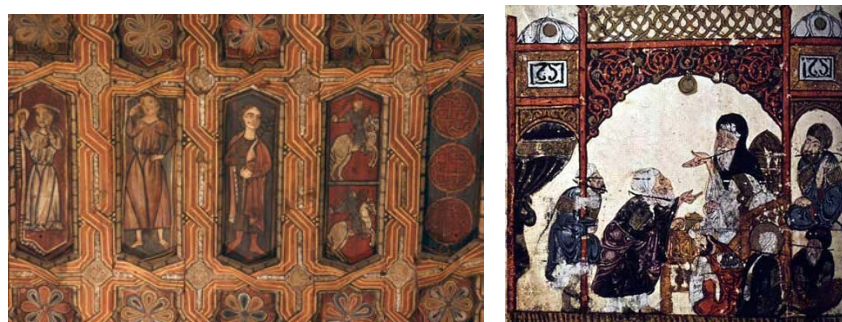


Fig.116 Left: Detail of the painted ceiling of the cathedral at Teruel.

Fig.117 Right: Illustration from the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, showing Abū Zayd before the Cadi of Sa'da in the Yemen (thirty seventh Maqama). Baghdad, c.1225-35. Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg, MS S 23. (From Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p.107.)

### Group Three

The third group of figurative imagery is a small number of vessels depicting knights on horseback (Cats.59-63). The horses are dappled and bridled; the riders carry a shield

and sword or lance. In the two of the three images that include the original painting of the heads of the figures, they are bareheaded. Unlike the bust images of knights in full armour (see below), these are more casual images without the chain mail of a warrior at war.<sup>57</sup>

The image of a figure on horseback is shown alongside two jousting male figures on the Liria ceiling (*Fig.118*); although the rider is not armed, the suggestion of knightly activities and the courtly world is there by association with the adjoining image. On the Teruel painted ceiling there are two adjoining mounted figures riding dappled horses, both carrying a sword and shield, one bare-headed while the other wears a chain mail helmet (*Fig.119*). A tin-glazed plate made in fourteenth-century Teruel, shows a bareheaded rider on a dappled horse carrying a shield (*Fig.120*).



*Fig.118* Top: Detail of painted ceiling of the church at Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*).

*Fig.119* Below left: Detail of the painted ceiling of the cathedral at Teruel.

*Fig.120* Below right: Tin-glazed plate from fourteenth-century Teruel. Museo Provincial de Teruel.

<sup>57</sup> According to González Martí Loza, p.143 they symbolised the strength of the law. However, Pascual and Martí argue that the small number of images depicting this theme, and consequent lack of material, makes any such symbolic meaning difficult to interpret. Pascual and Martí, *Los orígenes*, p.125.

Two painted ceiling panels from palaces in Barcelona, dating from around 1300, show similar scenes of armed and mounted horsemen in combat. One shows a Muslim horseman wearing a turban and light armour, in combat with two Christian horsemen wearing heavy chain mail and riding horses with heavy trappings.<sup>58</sup> The Muslim rider carries a small, round shield while the Christians carry large, crest-shaped shields with heraldic emblems (unidentified). The second panel shows a Muslim horseman, wearing similar light armour to that in the other panel, fighting a heavily armed Christian knight wearing chain mail and carrying a large, crest-shaped shield.<sup>59</sup> These panels are useful comparisons for the Paterna horsemen, as they make a clear visual distinction between Muslim and Christian figures through their type of armour, shield shape and horse trappings. Following this distinction, the shield shapes in the Paterna images are Christian ones; the Paterna figures wear long stirrups which make their legs straight, which is a similar tack to that worn by Christian rather than Muslim knights in the Barcelona panels (the Muslim riders wear short stirrups and low fitted saddles). Only one of the Paterna figures wears chain mail; but as these are not images of knights actually involved in combat, perhaps this explains their light armour.

#### **Group Four**

The final figurative group shows busts of knights, which are found on a number of vessels, usually on small bowls (Cats.64-75). They show the head and upper shoulders of a figure wearing a hat or helmet, often with armour around the face and shoulders. There are usually vegetal or floral motifs around the head, but no arms are shown. The headgear is usually a pointed helmet or sometimes a more rounded helmet. In one case the figure wears a three-pointed helmet. These are not crowns

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<sup>58</sup> Panel of a coffered ceiling, tempera on wood from the Palace at calle Lledó no.15, Barcelona. 23.5 x 75.3cm. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. Inv.no.MNAC/MAC 107.878. See *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes dans les arts d'Orient et d'Occident. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe*, (Paris, 2002), p.168 no.130.

<sup>59</sup> Panel of a coffered ceiling, tempera on wood from the Palace of the Marqués de Llió, Barcelona. 24.3 x 66.3cm. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. Inv.no.MNAC/MAC 113.149. See *Chevaux et cavaliers*, p.168 no.129.

however, and are different from the larger, decorative crowns found on the dancing figures. Some of the knights are shown with beards.



Left: Cat.72.

Fig. 121 Right: Lustre-painted sherd from Manises. Museu de Ceràmica, Manises.

Coll notes that very similar bowls to those from Paterna with depictions of the heads of warriors have been excavated in Manises decorated with lustre painting.<sup>60</sup> This sherd (Fig.121), on display at the Museo de Cerámica in Manises, was excavated at C/en Bou in Manises and is dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>61</sup> The similarities with the Paterna images are clear and suggest a common source for this image. The motif of a bust of a figure on a circular background, is reminiscent of the busts of rulers that feature on western coinage. However, the appearance of 'busts' of animals among Paterna ware (see Cats.134-142) would suggest that coins were not necessarily an inspiration for these Paterna human busts. Instead these busts (both human and animal) may simply be an effective way to decorate such a small surface area, as they are all painted within the smaller central area of bowls and small plates rather than on the larger plates.

Portraits of mounted knights in battle on the painted wooden ceiling at Teruel cathedral show figures wearing similar headgear, with rounded helmets and armour covering their faces and chins (Fig.122).

<sup>60</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana*, p.72. He notes this information came from the director of the Museo de Cerámica in Manises, J. Pérez Camps.

<sup>61</sup> This information is from the catalogue label for this object in the museum in Manises; the inventory number is not available.





Fig. 122 Detail of a panel on the painted ceiling of the cathedral at Teruel.

These images of knights and warriors in the painted ceilings and in Paterna ware are part of the repertoire of images depicting troubadour tales of chivalric deeds.<sup>62</sup> The figures in Paterna ceramics are probably not individual portraits, as the faces are mostly covered with armour and they are not distinguished by emblems or heraldry. Martí and Pascual suggest that the palm leaves and vegetal motifs that flank the busts signify the exaltation or glorification of the figures.<sup>63</sup> However, these vegetal motifs also appear in many other Paterna images not only in bust portraits, as common decorative motifs around a primary image, which may not carry any more than decorative significance.

<sup>62</sup> Soler, *Historia de la Ceramica*, p.91.

<sup>63</sup> Pascual and Martí, *Los orígenes*, p.129.

### Coats of Arms

Coats of arms appear as a primary decorative feature and alongside other decorative features in Paterna ware (Cats. 254-75). The majority of these heraldic symbols do not correspond to any specific family but are pseudo-heraldry, used as a decorative feature for their association with power and authority.<sup>64</sup> Heraldic devices were used from the twelfth century in medieval Europe to associate a figure, or object, with the authority of family lineage, señorial power and inherited wealth.<sup>65</sup>

The most common appearance of the coat of arms in Paterna ware is with diagonal, vertical or horizontal stripes in green across it (see Cat. images below). The coat of arms of the Crown of Aragon has vertical stripes and is represented in the small bowl (below left); this 'correct' coat of arms may have been intentional, but the equally frequent use of diagonal and horizontal stripes, which generic, pseudo coats of arms, suggests that the distinguishing feature of the motif was its outline crest shape and that its infill was secondary and not necessarily meant as recognisable (though perhaps inspired by the house of Aragon stripes). This triangular crest shape was used like pseudo writing, as an ornamental motif to invoke an association with power, prestige and protection.



Left: Cat.268. Centre: Cat.269. Right: Cat.257.

This pseudo coat of arms is prominent in this distinctive group of Paterna bowls in which more of the tin-glazed white background is seen than is usual in Paterna ware.

<sup>64</sup> Pascual and Martí, *Los orígenes*, p.134.

<sup>65</sup> Norberto Piqueras, *Del Tirant al Quijote. La Imagen del Caballero* (Valencia 2005) pp.40-41.



Left: Cat.262. Cat.264.

Pseudo heraldry is also found on other forms such as basins. In this example (below, Cat.273) the coat of arms is found alongside pseudo Arabic writing, while in the example (below right, Cat.275) the coat of arms is placed alongside abstract spiral and geometric motifs.



Cat.273 (left) and 275 (right)

Occasionally a recognisable coat of arms is depicted, such as the large plate (Cat.256) which bears both the coat of arms of the Luna family on the right and that of the Kingdom of Aragon on the left, which may commemorate the joining of the families of Lope de Luna and Violante de Aragon in matrimony in 1339.



Cat.256.



Similarly, in Teruel ware from the fourteenth century, specific heraldic motifs were used which can be attributed to individuals, such as that of Pedro Sánchez Muñoz, a member of a noble family in the town. A large plate in green and brown made at Teruel shows his coat of arms repeated nine times across its face, interspersed with geometric motifs. Among his possessions in the early fifteenth century, Ortega notes that Sánchez Muñoz owned various fabrics including large curtains with his coat of arms on them (a cross and an eagle), which suggests that the coat of arms may have been found on many household objects at the time.<sup>66</sup> Unspecific, pseudo heraldry was also common in Teruel ware at this time.

Identifiable coats of arms were used to a great extent in the lustre-painted ceramics made in Manises, as demonstrated by two fifteenth-century plates at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon. One shows the coat of arms of the Boïl family of Manises, with its distinctive bulls and castles, while the other shows the coat of arms of Aragon and Sicily, with the vertical stripes of Aragon together with the eagles of Sicily.<sup>67</sup> Pseudo heraldry was also used, though less frequently, in this type of luxury ware.<sup>68</sup>

The relative lack of recognisable coats of arms among the ceramics of Paterna in comparison with later lustre-painted wares, perhaps suggests a lack of wealthy families commissioning Paterna ware directly from the potters in the fourteenth century. But it also demonstrates that the image of the coat of arms, like the pseudo Arabic writing, the lions and the castles alike, had become a symbol of power and authority, which did not have to be specific or strictly legible to be clearly understood.

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<sup>66</sup> Ortega Ortega, *Operis Terre Turollii* p.170 Lam.LXXI

<sup>67</sup> Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, inv.no.D.327 for Boïl crest and D.1 for Aragon and Sicily crest. See *Le calife, le prince et le potier*, pp.113-114.

<sup>68</sup> See Spallanzani, *Maioliche Ispano-Moresche* pp.181-226 for both identifiable and pseudo heraldry in Manises lustreware.

## Castles

A group of vessels (Cats.282-92) in the Catalogue feature castles and towers as their main decorative feature. The images show a turreted building with usually a lower and an upper level, accompanied by vegetal motifs. Some show a single tower, with a rippled feature in front that may suggest a moat or garden (Cat.282). Others have three towers, such as this plate where brick motifs suggest the building material, and abstracted, pseudo Arabic writing decorates polylobed arches at the base (Cat.283).



Left: Cat.282. Right: Cat.283.

The motif is not found among ceramics from the Islamic world, but may be an image taken from literary sources associated with chivalry and courtly activities.<sup>69</sup>

This may be what is suggested by the motif on the large bowl (Cat.34) of a single turreted castle within which two dancers or musicians are seated, flanked by two large birds. It has been suggested that this image may represent the literary *castillo del amor* or 'castle of love', within which two courtesans or lovers sit awaiting their suitors.<sup>70</sup> This story of the knight's lover who was imprisoned by her father in a castle was made popular in the chivalric tale *Cárcel de Amor* (Prison of Love) by Diego de San Pedro, written in the late fifteenth century but based on antecedents in lyrical poetry, song and chivalric romances.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Other examples of this motif on decorated ceramics are infrequent; a three-turreted castle is depicted on a jug made at Ravenna in Italy in the fourteenth century. The catalogue notes that the castle is the emblem of the Canonica di Porto in Ravenna. *Le Vert et le Brun*, p.156 and (illustrated) p.157, no.128. Also on a bowl made at Manresa, near Barcelona, in the fourteenth century, excavated at the church of Carmen de Manresa (Colección Barrachina). See *Sicilia y la Corona de Aragón* p.266 no.27.

<sup>70</sup> Amorós, 'Uns temes', p.111. Also Soler Ferrer, *Historia*, p.92.

<sup>71</sup> Barbara E. Kurtz, 'Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* and the tradition of the allegorical edifice', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 8 (1984), pp.124–138.



Cat.34

This complex image is unique in Paterna ware, and as such it is difficult to determine its origins. The placing of courtly entertainers within a castle, with birds outside perhaps representing a garden setting, is an image that seems redolent of tales of courtly love and chivalry. It is not unlikely that this image refers to a specific tale or song popular at the time of its making; however, images of figures in castles are not infrequently found in contemporary painted ceilings, for example. They feature among the courtly depictions on the painted ceiling of the Palazzo Chiaramonte in Palermo, Sicily, which was built for the wealthy Chiaramonte family before becoming the palace of the Aragonese house of Martín I of Aragon and Blanche de Navarre. The painted wooden ceiling in the Sala dei Baroni, the Great Hall, was completed between 1377 and 1380 and includes images of chivalric tales, some within an architectural setting of turreted castles (*Fig.123*).<sup>72</sup>

Similarly, turreted castles within a chivalric setting feature prominently on the ceiling painted on leather from the Hall of Justice in the Palace of the Lions at the Alhambra, similarly dated to the late fourteenth century.<sup>73</sup> It may be an early version of this type of courtly setting that is shown on Paterna ware with this motif.

<sup>72</sup> The Great Hall ceilings date from the late fourteenth century but reflect a depiction of courtly life on a ceiling context that could relate to the images on Paterna ware and the Liria ceiling. For painted ceilings in Italy including Chiaramonte see Anne Dunlop *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (Penn State Press 2009) p.112. Gabrici and Levi discuss the Chiaramonte ceiling in relation to later fourteenth-century painted ceilings in Aragon, and include an image of a Paterna ceramic in the article, but they do not discuss its relationship with the ceiling. Gabrici and Levi, *Lo Steri di Palermo e le Sue Pitture* (Rome 1932). A Paterna plate with a geometric 'Solomon's Knot' motif was excavated at the Palazzo Chiaramonte, which is evidence of the direct links with the Crown of Aragon in Sicily during the fourteenth century (see Cat.402).

<sup>73</sup> Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet (eds.), *Courting the Alhambra* (Leiden, Boston, 2008)



Fig. 123 Detail of the fourteenth-century painted wooden ceiling of the Sala dei Baroni, Palazzo Chiaramonte 'Lo Steri', Palermo, Sicily. (From Francesco Gabrieli, Umberto Scerrato, Paul Balog (eds.), *Gli Arabi in Italia. Cultura, contatti e tradizioni* (Milan, 1979) p.145 no.156).

On the ceiling of Teruel cathedral, the motif of the castle appears in a roundel, alongside other roundels containing fleur-de-lis. In this context both the Paterna and Teruel castles may, like pseudo heraldry and pseudo Arabic writing, suggest generic power and authority of the ruler, and the protection of a defensive fortress. The castles are not accompanied by coats of arms, which suggests that they do not represent particular local lords or centres of power, but rather are symbolic of señorial power.<sup>74</sup>

Towers and castles were common in the towns of the Valencian *huerta*, where the new rulers adapted buildings that had been constructed under Muslim rule for their own defensive use. Paterna had its own defensive castle until it was destroyed in the mid-fourteenth century, very near to where the *Ollerías Menores* site of pottery production was situated. The castles in the Paterna were vary in their details, and it is unlikely that one particular castle or tower was intended to be represented, but the presence of a defensive castle so near to the potters' workshops in Paterna would have provided a constant reminder of the symbolism associated with the ruling power.

<sup>74</sup> Coll, *La Cerámica Valenciana*, p.72.

## Animals

Images of animals are very common in Paterna ware, comprising around one third of the vessels in the Catalogue. They are usually depicted individually, but sometimes as pairs or groups, particularly of birds and fish. Birds and fish are sometimes shown alongside pseudo Arabic writing, or flanking a central tree.

Tracing the sources and symbolic meaning of these motifs is complex as animal imagery is ubiquitous in both Christian and Islamic contexts, across many media (especially textiles, ceramics, painted ceilings, carved ivories, illustrated manuscripts and carved stone). The tradition of animal representation is introduced below, before individual animal motifs found in Paterna ware are discussed in detail.

Paterna potters may have drawn from a western tradition of depicting animals, which was no doubt popular in Valencia by the fourteenth century. Although not as popular in Iberia as it was in France or England, the illustrated medieval bestiary manuscript was present in Iberia from as early as the thirteenth century. The Mallorcan philosopher Ramon Llull wrote his *Llibre de les Bèsties* (Book of Beasts) c.1287-1289, a type of 'mirror for princes' text (the origins of which was probably the Arabic *Kalila wa Dimna* text) with didactic stories about correct behaviour for a king.<sup>75</sup> The thirteenth-century bestiary of the Italian writer Brunetto Latini, *Livres dou Trésor*, based on the anonymous Greek bestiary text *Physiologus*, was known to have been popular in Iberia; several manuscripts survive from the fifteenth century in Catalan and Castilian.<sup>76</sup> The French fable *Le Roman de Renard* from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was also popular in medieval Iberia.

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<sup>75</sup> Edward J. Neugaard, 'The Sources of the Folk Tales in Ramon Llull's 'Llibre de les bèsties'', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 84 (Jul.-Sep. 1971) pp.333-337.

<sup>76</sup> Baldwin, S., *The Medieval Castilian Bestiary. From Brunetto Latini's 'Tesoro'*. Exeter Hispanic Texts Vol. 31 (University of Exeter, 1982), p.xxi.

These manuscript sources may have influenced the paintings on the ceiling of the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra, which include images of hunted animals in the margins (Fig.123a).<sup>77</sup> Images of fantastical animals and hunting scenes are also found in Christian religious contexts, such as in the early fourteenth-century carved cloister capitals of the Santa María de l'Estany monastery.<sup>78</sup>



Fig. 123a: Detail of the painted ceiling (lateral vault) of the Hall of Justice (or Hall of the Kings), Alhambra Palace, Granada, showing hunted animals in the lower margin. (From [www.alhambra.patronato.es](http://www.alhambra.patronato.es).)

Stylistically, the Paterna images are also close to Islamic depictions of animals. Sherds of lustre-painted and tin-glazed pottery found at Fustat demonstrate the prevalence of animal imagery on ceramics made in eleventh-century Fatimid Egypt. These images include quadrupeds (lions and leopards for example) painted in brown and green on a

<sup>77</sup> For *Le Roman de Renard* in Iberia, see Jennifer Borland, 'The Forested Frontier: Commentary in the Margins of the Alhambra Ceiling Paintings', Robinson and Pinet (eds.), *Courting the Alhambra*, pp.303-308.

<sup>78</sup> Puig i Cadafalch, 'Els temes'.



tin-glazed base,<sup>79</sup> birds and hares painted with lustre,<sup>80</sup> and deer or stags in green, brown and yellow from tenth to eleventh-century Fatimid Tunisia.<sup>81</sup> Animal imagery was also popular on the ceramics made in caliphal and taifa Spain (*Fig.125*).<sup>82</sup> In Albarracín in Aragon, eleventh-century tin-glazed green and brown ware was decorated with motifs including lions, large birds and deer.<sup>83</sup>

Animals were often depicted in roundels on decorated textiles and carved and painted ivories made in al-Andalus.<sup>84</sup> Almería was the centre of an important silk producing industry in the twelfth century, where a characteristic design on woven silk was that of animals within large roundels. These roundels may be echoed in the circular frame of Paterna ceramics. Textile fragments with animals in roundels include the tenth-century silk and gold fragment from al-Andalus, which shows a peacock in profile, set within a double circular roundel, with two floral motifs in the background. This would have been part of a strip of linked medallions, but this is the only surviving section (*Fig.124*). A comparison with a Paterna plate with a central bird in profile, vegetal motifs alongside it and a wide frame of epigraphic decoration, draws our attention to the artist's similar use of the circular shape of the vessel to frame a central bird motif and the similarities between the framing triangular motif in the textile and the stylized epigraphy in the ceramic.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Philon, *Early Islamic*, p.56 Fig.120 and p.46 Plate IV C.

<sup>80</sup> Philon, *Early Islamic*, pp.202-205 Figs. 414-424. See also Watson, *Ceramics*, p.280 for Fustat fragments of lustre painted animals.

<sup>81</sup> Philon, *Early Islamic*, p.60 Figs.129 and 130.

<sup>82</sup> Jerrilynn Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus: the art of Islamic Spain* (New York, 1992), p.236 no.29. Glazed and painted earthenware bowl, Diam. 24.4cm., Museo Nacional de Cerámica 'González Martí', Valencia, inv.2858.

<sup>83</sup> Ortega Ortega, *Anatomía del Esplendor: fondos de la Sala de Historia Medieval. Museo de Albarracín* (Zaragoza 2007), pp.236-241 no. 164-171.

<sup>84</sup> As Rosser-Owen points out, the motif of animals in roundels in Andalusí textiles was probably inspired by textiles imported from the Near East. The motif had been used for centuries on textiles made in Sasanian Iran and Byzantium. Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, p.36.

<sup>85</sup> Oliver Watson, 'Ceramics', Toby Falk (ed.), *Treasures of Islam* (London, 1985), p.211 no.199. Watson highlights the connection between images of birds on ceramics and textiles with birds in roundels.



Fig.124 Left: Tenth-century silk and gold thread textile fragment, 19 x 23cm. Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, Inv.2071.  
Right: Cat.167.

Animals within circular frames were also frequently found on the carved and painted ivories of al-Andalus. An example is the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century inlaid ivory casket, the 'Tortosa casket', where deer, peacock, bulls and addorsed lions are set in circular frames against a black background.<sup>86</sup>

There is no suggestion of a direct contact between Paterna ware and individual textiles, but rather that depicting animals in decorative roundels was a motif that was frequently used on these textiles in al-Andalus, and which seems to have transferred subsequently to post-conquest Paterna.

The following detailed examination of individual animal motifs reveals sources, connections and possible symbolic interpretations of the variety of images in Paterna ware.

### Stags and Deer

Deer and stag are depicted in Paterna ware in profile, usually standing against a background of vegetal scrolls, arabesques and palmettes (Cats.78-96). The difference between deer and stag may be that the stag has long antlers while the deer or gazelle has long ears; however, some of the beasts without antlers, such as that below right

<sup>86</sup> Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.265 no.51. Almohad casket, late twelfth - early thirteenth century, 24 x 36 x 24cm, Tesoro de la Catedral de Tortosa.



(Cat.80), show an erect penis, signifying a stag. (The erect penis in many of the images (at least four of the stags in the Catalogue) suggests a function as a symbol of fertility.<sup>87</sup> The body parts are emphasised with imbrications on the haunches and stripes on the ribs and chest.



*Fig. 125* Left: Tin-glazed bowl (with lead-glazed exterior), excavated in the Valencia region, tenth to eleventh century. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia, Inv.1/2858. Right: Cat.80.

The basic image has changed little from the tenth or eleventh-century Valencia bowl depiction of a stag (*Fig.125*), with a body decorated with palmette-like motifs, two long horns and long, elegant legs and neck. The simple, white background of this vessel has been changed, however, in the Paterna piece (above right) which is filled with scrolled palmettes and leaf motifs, a feature which has more in common with the Fatimid lustre-painted ceramic tradition than with the Spanish caliphal ceramics (see *Fig.142*).<sup>88</sup> The animals are otherwise very similar however, indicating that Paterna potters were possibly copying from a standard depiction of the animal, which had changed little since the taifa period.

Both deer and stag are also royal hunted animals, which were depicted in scenes associated with the hunt. These scenes, which included real and fantastical animals (stag and unicorn, for example) are found in Islamic sources, such as the carved ivory casket below (*Fig.126*) from eleventh-century Cuenca in al-Andalus, as well as in western European sources, including medieval manuscripts, ceramics and painted

<sup>87</sup> Pascual and Martí, *Los orígenes*, p.119.

<sup>88</sup> See Watson, *Ceramics*, p.279 Cat. Ja.7.

ceilings.<sup>89</sup> The stag features among the animals painted in lustre on Manises ceramics from the fifteenth century, which draw on courtly literary sources for their inspiration (Fig.127).

The stag as a hunted image appears on the painted ceiling at Teruel pursued by a mounted rider, within a frieze of hunted animals (Fig.128). The animal has long antlers and its side is pierced by a lance from the hunter, from where blood pours out. The stag is also used as an heraldic image; while this function is not clear on the Paterna ware, in later Manises lustreware the stag appears in profile within a crest shape.<sup>90</sup>



Fig.126 Left: Detail of the carved ivory and enamelled casket, eleventh century, Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos. Museo de Burgos, Spain.

Fig.127 Right: Lustre-painted plate, Manises. Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid (exhibited).



Fig.128 Detail of the painted ceiling at Teruel cathedral (From Rabanaque Martín, *Catedral de Teruel*, p.120.) At the centre of this hunting frieze is the hunted stag pursued by a mounted rider, the stag bleeding from its lance wounds.

The image of the stag holding a branch in its mouth is also found in Paterna ware (see below Cat.96), similar to the eleventh-century Valencia bowl (Fig.125). The motif of a deer with a branch in its mouth is a common one in Christian and Islamic art, from classical sources which relate the story of the deer, who hunts the snakes then purifies

<sup>89</sup> Marcelle Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love: The Chase in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, New York and London, 1974).

<sup>90</sup> See for example the plate at the Musée des Beaux Arts de Lyon, Inv. D326 illustrated in *Le calife, le prince et le potier*, p.242.

itself by eating herbs; a similar story tells how the deer when wounded by arrows, eats the herb called dittany which makes the arrows fall out of its body and heals the wounds.<sup>91</sup> The knowledge of this characteristic was perpetuated through bestiaries and encyclopaedias in the medieval period.<sup>92</sup>



Left: Cat.96. Right: Cat.91.

## Lion

Images of lions and bulls are sometimes difficult to distinguish from one another in Paterna ware (Cats.97-115). The lions seem to have a curled motif around their neck, suggesting a mane, while the beasts with curled horns and rippled skin on their chests may be bulls. All are set against backgrounds of vegetation and their faces are shown in profile as well as their bodies.

The lion is associated with the ruler in both Christian and Islamic cultural contexts. It was a symbol of the royal hunt and of royal power and political supremacy; the coronation mantle made in 1133 for Roger II, king of Sicily, for example can be directly interpreted as a symbol of the king and royal power, with its lion overpowering a camel. Unlike this mantle however, the Paterna ceramics were not associated directly with a court workshop or with royal manufacture.<sup>93</sup> The image of the lion is one which had by

<sup>91</sup> Michael Bath, *The Image of the Stag. Iconographic Themes in Western Art* (Baden Baden 1992) p.207. The sources he quotes from include Aelian *De natura animalium*, Pliny *Natural History* and Oppian *Cynegatica*.

<sup>92</sup> The image of the deer with a branch in its mouth, from the story of the deer who eats herbs to purify itself after eating the snake, was also found in the Islamic tradition in illustrated Dioscorides *De Materia Medica* manuscripts in Arabic, such as the 1083 Or.289 Warn. at Leiden University Library, and the 1229 Ahmet III 2127 at the Topkapi Sarayi Museum in Istanbul. I am grateful to Dr Anna Contadini for this information.

<sup>93</sup> Coronation mantle made in royal court workshop, Palermo, 1133-34, Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna (Inv.No.XIII 14).

this stage entered the repertoire of motifs used for its more general, symbolic associations with power, motifs which also included pseudo heraldry and pseudo Arabic writing. In Paterna ware the lion does not indicate a direct connection with a royal individual; the lion motif would have been a ubiquitous image across media at this time and its appearance in Paterna ware is therefore not surprising.

The lions on the Liria ceiling are shown in the context of hunting (*Figs.129-30*), but their rather stiff stances and awkward shapes are perhaps due to having been copied from heraldic imagery. Such an heraldic lion can be found in Paterna ware (Cat.98), and similar heraldic-style lions would appear in later cobalt and lustre painted Manises ware, for example on the large plate at Lyon (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon Inv.D 323).<sup>94</sup>

The lions on the painted ceiling at Teruel are shown in both a repetitive, heraldic context and in scenes of hunting, where the lion nevertheless looks similar to the heraldic image. The lion as part of the hunt is shown alongside real and fantastical animals, often pursued by or attacking armed and mounted men.<sup>95</sup>

Most of the Paterna lions however are shown not with the typical heraldic stance of the lion rampant, but in profile in motion or standing rather stiffly.



Ilustración n.º 20



Ilustración n.º 22

*Figs.129-130* Left and right: Detail of painted ceiling of the church at Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*).

<sup>94</sup> Published in *Le calife, le prince et le potier*, p.90.

<sup>95</sup> *El Artesonado la Catedral de Teruel*, p.90 for heraldic image and p.73 for images of lions within hunting context.



One of the Paterna vessels (Cat.105) shows a lion with large bird on its back, the bird's head caught between the lion's jaws. The juxtaposition of two animals in combat is a motif that is frequently found in Islamic and Christian decorative arts. It is found for example on the carved ivory 'al-Mughira' pyxis, where a symmetrical pair of lions are standing on the back and attacking a pair of bulls beneath them; in rock crystal such as the Fatimid ewer in which a large winged bird stands on the back of a running stag; in textiles such as a fragment of Almoravid silk, in which pairs of birds stand on the backs of pairs of deer (*Figs.131-33*):



*Fig.131* Left: Carved ivory pyxis of *al-Mughira*, 968AD Madinat al-Zahra, Córdoba. (Musée du Louvre, Paris. Inv.OA 4068). (Image © Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

*Fig.132* Centre: Rock crystal ewer, eleventh-century Egypt. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv.7904-1862). (Image © V&A, London.)

*Fig.133* Right: Almorávid silk textile fragment, eleventh - twelfth century al-Andalus. (Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.) (With thanks to Mariam Rosser Owen for this image).

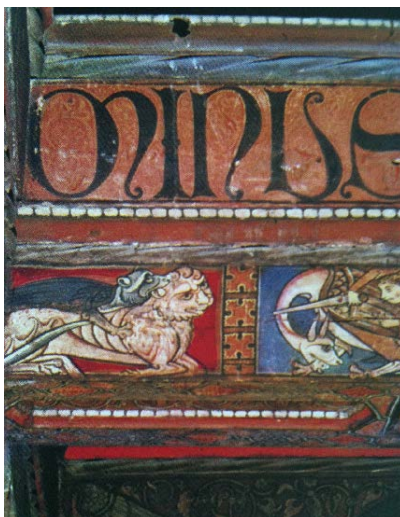
The motif is less frequently found on ceramics, but some examples exist, such as the *bacino* possibly made in late tenth-century Malaga, in which a large bird is above (but not attacking) a lion (*Fig.134*).<sup>96</sup>



*Fig.134* Left: Tin-glazed *bacino*, from the facade of the church of San Zeno, Pisa, late tenth to early eleventh century, probably Malaga. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Inv.2. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa). Right: Cat.105.

<sup>96</sup> Berti, 'Pisa-Spagna' p.41

On the Teruel ceiling, a lion on its knees is mounted and attacked by a composite animal with bird wings and a dog's head, opposite a dragon being slain by a man with a sword (*Fig.135*):



*Fig.135* Detail of the painted ceiling at Teruel cathedral (From Rabanaque Martín, *Catedral de Teruel*, p.81).

This is one of many scenes on the Teruel painted ceiling which depict combat scenes among animals and humans, as part of a hunt or battle. An interesting detail of one of the carved capitals at the Santa María de l'Estany monastery in Catalonia shows a bird of prey on the back of an unidentifiable quadruped (*Fig.136*). The cycle of images on the cloister capitals here include religious and secular scenes and many images of animals, particular in pairs or with human figures.<sup>97</sup>



*Fig.136* Bird of prey attacking a quadruped. Detail of a carved stone cloister capital on the south gallery of the cloisters at the monastery of Santa María de l'Estany, Catalonia. (From [www.claustro.com](http://www.claustro.com), Juan Antonio Olañeta.)

<sup>97</sup> Detailed photographs of the cloisters have been published on this website: [http://www.claustro.com/Claustros/Webpages/Barcelona/clostros\\_estany.htm](http://www.claustro.com/Claustros/Webpages/Barcelona/clostros_estany.htm)

Indeed, Måle notes the frequency with which the image of a bird of prey on the back of a quadruped is found in Romanesque French capitals.<sup>98</sup> A carved stone capital on the northeast pier of the transept at the twelfth-century abbey church of St Eutrope at Saintes (Charente-Inférieure) shows an unidentified quadruped with a large bird on its back depicted in a manner similar to that of the Paterna plate (*Fig.137*).



*Fig.137* Pair of birds attacking a pair of quadrupeds. Detail of a carved stone capital at the Basilique St. Eutrope in Saintes, France. (From Måle, *Religious Art in France*, Fig.255 p.358.)

Although in Paterna ware there are other images which juxtapose two animals, in particular a fish above a bird, which González Martí associated with the symbolism of the supremacy of Christianity over Islam, there are no other examples apart from the lion and bird plate, of animals engaged in combat with one another, nor of a lion with another animal.<sup>99</sup> But as the above examples have shown, the juxtaposition of animals in combat, particularly a lion, is a motif which is found in both western Christian and Islamic art that is symbolic of political or military power.<sup>100</sup>

## Bulls

The bull is identified by its two curved horns in a small number of Paterna pieces (Cats.116-19). Like the lion, the bull was a symbol of power and authority, used in the coat of arms of the Boïl family, lords of nearby Manises town (*Fig.138*). The reverse of a large plate made in Manises in the fifteenth century shows a bull with two horns,

<sup>98</sup> Måle, *Religious Art in France*, p.358.

<sup>99</sup> González Martí, *Loza*, p.4.

<sup>100</sup> Willy Hartner and Richard Ettinghausen, 'The Conquering Lion, the Life Cycle of a Symbol', *Oriens* 17 (Leiden, 1964) pp.161-171.

within a setting of vegetal and floral motifs rather than an heraldic context.<sup>101</sup> However, while bulls and castles both appear, separately, on Paterna ware, these are used more generally as symbols of power and decorative motifs, like other animal images in Paterna ware, perhaps copied from other media sources, and should not be interpreted as depicting the coat of arms of the Boil family.



*Fig.138 Lustre-painted tile, fifteenth century, Manises showing the coat of arms of the Boil family. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia, Inv.no.CE1/02327.*

### **Rabbit and Hare (Cats.120-133)**

In Islamic art the symbolism of the hare or rabbit is a complex one which can be read through literary sources.<sup>102</sup> Medieval Islamic sources associate the animal with good luck and survival, as the Arab proverb quoted by al-Jāḥiẓ tells us, ‘the duration of life is but the hop of a rabbit’.<sup>103</sup> The rabbit also had an apotropaic function, as it was believed to be both a menstruating animal, which meant that demons and *jinn*s would avoid it,<sup>104</sup> as well as a hermaphrodite that could reproduce in great numbers.<sup>105</sup> The

<sup>101</sup> Musée de la Céramique, Sèvres, Inv.6001. Published in *Le calife, le prince et le potier*, p.101.

<sup>102</sup> The symbolism of the rabbit in Islamic art and its literary sources are explored in detail in Abbas Daneshvari, *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art II. Animal Symbolism in Warqa wa Gulshāh* (Oxford, 1986), pp.11-28. He notes (p.11 footnote 1) that the Arabs and Persians do not distinguish linguistically between hares and rabbits.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, 8 vols., A.M. Hārūn (ed.) (Cairo 1949), 6:353. Cited in Daneshvari, *Oxford Studies*, p.11.

<sup>104</sup> Daneshvari, *Oxford Studies*, p.12.



cleverness of the rabbit is demonstrated in the Kalīla wa Dimna story of the lion and the rabbit, in which the rabbit outwits the lion.<sup>106</sup>

Grube notes that the hare motif was found in Egyptian art from Pharaonic times to the fourteenth century, on textiles, wood carvings, marginal decoration of manuscripts and ivory carvings, as well as ceramics.<sup>107</sup> As such, it was popular in Fatimid art, but as Dodd notes, images of the hare were found all over the Mediterranean and across many different media from the early Christian period.<sup>108</sup> Hares are usually shown facing forwards in Paterna ware, with long ears and powerful short legs, against a background of vegetation, similar to the way the hare is depicted in many Fatimid lustre-painted fragments (*Fig.139*).<sup>109</sup>



*Fig.139* Fragment of a Fatimid lustre-painted bowl, Egypt eleventh century. Benaki Museum, Athens Inv.280. (From Philon, *Early Islamic*, p.143 plate XVb).

In a medieval Christian context, the rabbit or hare was a symbol both of abundant fertility and of female sexuality.<sup>110</sup> In the thirteenth century French *Roman de la Rose* text, Jean de Meun uses the rabbit and the hunt for the rabbit as an allegory for female

<sup>105</sup> Daneshvari, *Oxford Studies*, p.26, quotes from Al-Qazwīnī (d.1283), *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* (ed. N. Sabuhi, Tehran 1961), p.408.

<sup>106</sup> Daneshvari, *Oxford Studies*, p.14.

<sup>107</sup> Ernst J. Grube, 'Studies in the Survival and Continuity of Pre-Muslim Traditions in Egyptian Islamic Art', *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*, 1 (Boston, 1962) pp.80 and 92-93, Figs.3-5.

<sup>108</sup> Erika Cruikshank Dodd, 'On a bronze rabbit from Fatimid Egypt', *Kunst des Orients*, 8 (1972) pp.60-76.

<sup>109</sup> Helen Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics*, (London, 1980), pp.202-203, Figs.414-18.

<sup>110</sup> This association, like that in the Islamic world, came from classical Greek and Roman sources including Herodotus, Philostratus and Pliny. See C.K. Abraham, 'Myth and Symbol: the rabbit in medieval France', *Studies in Philology*, 60:4 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1963) pp.589-90.

sexuality; even the French word for rabbit, 'connin', was even then a slang word for female sex organs.<sup>111</sup> Images of the rabbit in *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts were similarly associated with fertility. The detail of the opening page of this thirteenth century *Roman de la Rose* manuscript (Fig.140), shows a scene of the lady (Amans) sleeping and her pursuant lover, while their relationship is humorously echoed in a marginal scene of a rabbit being pursued by a ferret at the bottom of the same page, an allegory of the hunt of woman by man in courtly love.



Figs.140 Opening page (a) of a *Roman de la Rose* manuscript and detail (b) of lower section. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1559 f.1v. (Image © BN, France.)

The animal is found in a detail in the left of a hunting scene on the Liria ceiling (Fig.141); this time it is a hare looking backwards while being hunted by a man on horseback carrying a bird of prey. This association with hunting may be an allegory for the courtly lover's hunt for the lady, while at the same time bringing to mind the courtly activity of hunting. The animals depicted in Paterna ware are not placed in any specific context of a hunt, but are shown within a background of scrolled foliage that could suggest the animal in its own environment. The association is probably similar to that in the Liria ceiling, of both a hunted animal and a symbol of female sexuality, while also carrying with it the Islamic associations with good luck and prosperity.

<sup>111</sup> Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* (Ithaca,1992) p.243.



*Fig. 141* Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria, showing a mounted rider holding a bird of prey, with a hare looking backwards on the left. (Photograph © Vicent Escrivà.)

## Birds

The bird in Paterna ware takes several forms: a single bird, a bird with a fish above it or with two fish, one above and one below, a bird alongside pseudo Arabic writing, pairs of facing birds flanking a central tree, pairs of addorsed birds, and a stylised heraldic eagle (Cats.144-72).

As Auld explains, the bird appears throughout every area of art from the earliest times with an almost infinite variety of meanings.<sup>112</sup> While in the Koran the bird may have represented a symbol of the soul waiting to enter the garden of paradise,<sup>113</sup> in a secular context the bird motif was particularly ubiquitous in the Islamic decorative arts across the media.

Birds were an important feature of both Fatimid lustre-painted ceramics and lustre-painted ceramics from al-Andalus, such as the lustre-painted bowl which was a *bacino* in the walls of the church of Sant' Andrea in Pisa (*Fig.142*).<sup>114</sup> This bird is long-tailed with large claws, a wide beak and large staring eyes, its body decorated in *sgraffito* scrolls with imbrications and feather marks, the figure surrounded by vegetal scrolls.

<sup>112</sup> Sylvia Auld, 'Birds and Blessings: a Kohl-pot from Jerusalem' in O'Kane (ed.), *The Iconography*, p.1.

<sup>113</sup> Pascual and Martí, *Los origenes*, p.123.

<sup>114</sup> Watson, *Ceramics*, pp.278-279, Cats. Ja.6 and Ja.7. The latter piece is very similar in style to the Almohad period *bacino* in Pisa, Museo Nazionale de San Matteo, Pisa no.232, illustrated in Dodds (ed.) *Al Andalus*, p.346 no.103.

This bowl may have been made in Murcia but its decoration shows close connections with Fatimid lustre painting techniques and composition.<sup>115</sup>

The decorative treatment of the Paterna bird (Cat.146 below right) demonstrates similarities with the Murcia bowl in the vegetal scrolled surround, the large staring eye and hooked claws. They are sufficiently different in technique and style to rule out anything other than a distant connection, but these examples indicate that this way of painting birds was popular on ceramics from eastern Iberia at this time.



Fig.142 Left: Lustre-painted *bacino*, early twelfth-century Spain (Murcia?), from the facade of the church of San Andrea, Pisa. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Inv.232.<sup>116</sup> Right: Cat.146.

Textiles must also have been an important source for bird imagery, as the motif seems to feature prominently particularly in surviving Almoravid fragments. The image of the heraldic eagle in Cat.150 is unique in Paterna ware but close parallels are found in Andalusí textiles, such as the twelfth-century Almoravid silk textile fragment at the David Collection in Copenhagen (Inv.9.2001), which shows a similar heraldic eagle within a roundel, with the words 'baraka' (blessing) beneath the bird's feet.

Unsurprisingly, the Liria ceiling offers similar representations of birds to those found in Paterna ware. The image (Fig.143) on the Liria ceiling shows a pair of addorsed birds flanking a fleur-de-lis. Like the Paterna pairs of birds (Cat.170 below), they have similarly large clawed feet, their feathers drawn as fish-scale like imbrications and large staring eyes.

<sup>115</sup> Rosselló Bordoy in Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.346 no.103.

<sup>116</sup> Berti, 'Pisa-Spagna', p.50.



Ilustración n.º 15



*Fig.143* Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)  
Centre: Cat.165. Right: Cat.170.

The pairs of birds facing each other (Cat.165) are also similarly drawn to the Liria pair, with large hooked beaks and clawed feet set at an angle to the ground. This motif of a pair of birds flanking a central tree is a very common one in Andalusí art; the birds are often peacocks, such as in the twelfth century Almoravid silk textile where lines of pairs of peacocks flank central trees (below *Fig.144*).



*Fig.144* Detail of silk twill chasuble, Almorávid al-Andalus, early twelfth century. Basilique Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. (From Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.318 no.87.) Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv.828-1894.

A single bird with large, heavy claws and a hooked beak is depicted on the Liria ceiling alongside scrolling arabesque and vegetal motifs (*Fig.145*).

Ilustración n.º 47



*Fig.145* Left: Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)  
Right: Cat.145.

This bird in the Liria ceiling appears to wear a three-pronged crown or feather on its head, perhaps indicating it is a royal bird or a peacock. This crown is not featured among Paterna birds, however, the splayed tail on a number of the bird images in Paterna ware may refer to peacocks or at least be derived from representations of peacocks.

The peacock shown in this North African glazed plate (*Fig.147*), has similar features to the lustre-painted peacock on this bowl (*Fig.146*), including the leaf in front of the beak, the collar and tail leaf; but a close look shows that the tail leaf is in fact a separate leaf shape which is no longer attached to the body. It is as if the artist has misinterpreted an image of the peacock, perhaps not having seen such an animal, adding on the decorative tail as a separate unit.

In the Paterna vessel (Cat.166 and p.272), the bird is shown with a similar leaf in front of its mouth but by this stage a completely separate leaf along its back, perhaps simply filling in the space in the roundel, but also possibly a remnant of the peacock tail motif which was depicted by the potter of the lustre-painted piece. This does not suggest that more realistic images of peacocks were not known in North Africa or al-Andalus, rather that the particular potters who decorated these second two pieces may have misinterpreted an image or inherited an evolved motif that had developed away from the traditional image of a peacock.





Fig.146 Left: Lustre-painted bowl, Egypt or Iraq, late ninth to early tenth century. Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait, Inv.CERI526TSR. (From Géza Fehérvári, *Ceramics of the Islamic World*, (London, New York, 2000) p.37 no.34.)

Fig.147 Right: Polychrome glazed bowl, North Africa probably Tunisia, eleventh to twelfth century. Private collection, London. (From Fehérvári, *Ceramics of the Islamic World*, p.75 no.78.)

Another possible interpretation of this tear-shaped object above the back of the bird in Paterna ware is that it may represent the opened, tear-shaped cavity of the Eucharistic dove in the Christian tradition.<sup>117</sup> The image of a dove-like bird is symbolic in Christian religious contexts both of the Holy Spirit, and as an important symbol of the Annunciation.<sup>118</sup>

Vessels known as Eucharistic doves were made in the shape of a dove, with a tear-shaped door on its back concealing a cavity, and used as liturgical objects in the church and hung over the altar to be used as a receptacle for sacred bread of the Eucharist. Such objects, from cast copper, gilded and enamelled, were made in some quantities at the Limoges workshops in France from the early thirteenth century (Fig.148).



Fig.148 Eucharistic dove, cast copper, gilded and engraved with champlévé enamel. Limoges workshop, France, early thirteenth century. 18 x 21 x 7.3cm. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. Inv. MNAC/MAC 65534. (Image © [www.mnac.es](http://www.mnac.es).)

<sup>117</sup> See the champlévé enamel on copper dove at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MD, from a Limoges workshop in the early thirteenth century for example. Inv. 44.3.

<sup>118</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London, revised edn. 1979), p.109.

The shape above the Paterna bird may allude to this open vessel, symbolising the religious ceremony in the Christian context. This does not necessarily mean the Paterna bowl was intended for a religious context or overtly representing a Christian religious image, although this may have been the case, but that the source of the image may have been from this kind of vessel.



*Fig. 149* Left: Outline drawing of a Eucharistic dove with its cavity open. Right: Cat.166.

Similar metal bird-shaped vessels in bronze or brass were also made in the Islamic world as receptacles, possibly for incense or kohl.<sup>119</sup> These vessels sometimes have peacock finials with which to open their cavity.

### Branch in beak motif

This image of a bird seems to carry a branch in its beak (below right); images of other animals in Paterna ware also do the same, particularly deer (as discussed above). This motif is surprisingly common among ceramics made in the Islamic world, particularly with images of birds (eg. *Fig. 150*).



*Fig. 150* Left: Bowl with slip decoration under transparent glaze. Iran, tenth century. Al-Sabah collection, Inv.LNS 901C. (From Watson, *Ceramics*, p.233 Cat. Gc.2). Right: Cat.166.

<sup>119</sup> Auld, 'Birds', p.3.



In his exploration of the iconography of motifs of birds, branches and fish, Daneshvari suggests that the branch was a symbol of wealth and fertility in the pre-Islamic Sasanian period and in early Islamic Iran, and the bird of the spiritual world. The branch held by the ruler was particularly associated with money in the Abbasid period.<sup>120</sup> A similar association with peace accompanies the image of the bird with an olive branch in its beak from the Christian biblical story of Noah and the Flood.<sup>121</sup> These symbolic associations of a branch with wealth and prosperity may be the origins of the motif in the Paterna ceramics.

### Fish and Bird motif

A number of vessels are decorated with both a bird and a fish, or sometimes two fish. The bird is in a central position with the fish across its back or beneath it to the front. This fish and bird motif is a curious theme, which appears in ceramics from the eastern Islamic world, such as the Samanid imitation lustreware bowl (*Fig.151*).



Left: Cat.153. Centre: Cat.152.

*Fig.151* Amol polychrome ware, ninth to tenth century Iran. Formerly Gluck collection. (From Daneshvari, 'The cup', in O'Kane (ed.) *The Iconography* p.111 Fig.7.13). The image shows a bird and fish meeting at the mouth.

In his article on the origins of the motif, Daneshvari identifies the bird and fish motif by the Persian name used in medieval sources for the pairing, the *murgh-u-mahi* ensemble, literally meaning fish and bird, close to the term *murgh-u-mah* meaning fish and moon; he notes that textual sources reveal that images of the animals were

<sup>120</sup> Daneshvari, 'Cup, branch, bird and fish: an iconographical study of the figure holding a cup and a branch flanked by a bird and a fish', in O'Kane (ed.) *The Iconography*, pp.103-125.

<sup>121</sup> 'And the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.' Genesis 8:11, King James Bible (Cambridge Edition).

symbols of the cosmos, the fish representing the earthly world and the bird the cosmos.<sup>122</sup> He points out that “Islamic sources, whenever describing the cosmos, refer to the fish and bird (or the fish and moon) as its symbolic limits”, quoting several early textual sources which also indicate the bird and fish were metaphors for the universe.<sup>123</sup> This representation of the earth and the cosmos may be the origins of the Paterna ware, perhaps repeated from other, more contextualised sources. In Christian art, the fish was an early symbol of the baptismal rite, as well as symbolising Christ himself.<sup>124</sup> While the pairing of the fish with the bird is not a particular feature of medieval Christian art, the motif in Paterna ware may also have some religious significance with the fish as baptism or Christ, and the bird as the soul or the Eucharist.

### Fish

As discussed above, fish appear in Paterna ware alongside birds and held up in pairs by dancing figures. But they also appear in their own right, arranged in pairs alongside pseudo Arabic writing, heraldic motifs, or geometric motifs. Single fish also feature, sometimes surrounded by vegetal motifs (Cats.173-96). They are shown rather schematically or in a more naturalistic style, with a curved body, long tail and clear ‘facial’ features, comparable with the fish shown in the lustre-painted Fatimid bowl (Fig.152).



Fig.152 Left: Bowl with lustre-painted decoration, Fatimid Egypt eleventh century. Benaki Museum, Athens, Inv.210. (From Philon, *Early Islamic*, p.158 plate XVIII). Right: Cat.192.

<sup>122</sup> Daneshvari, ‘Cup, branch, bird and fish’, pp.103-125.

<sup>123</sup> Daneshvari, ‘Cup, branch, bird and fish’, p.118.

<sup>124</sup> Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, p.122.

Fish in Paterna ware have been simply interpreted as a symbol of Christianity.<sup>125</sup> However their ubiquity in the context of Islamic art suggests that this symbolism may not be entirely correct in the Paterna context. There are a number of images of fish in Paterna ware that suggest more complex origins, which are explored below.

The motif of multiple fish following each other in a circle is found on a small number of Paterna vessels, in particular on the inside of a large basin where fish and serpents swim anti-clockwise around a central heraldic motif (Cat.96); also in the plate (Cat.174) where four fish surround a central square.



Above right and left: Cat.96.

Below left: Cat.174.

Fig.153 Below right: Interior view of the 'Wade Cup', brass inlaid with silver, Iran, thirteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art. (From Richard Ettinghausen, 'The Wade Cup', *Ars Orientalis* 2, Plate 1 Fig.2.)

Grube notes that this is a motif found from late Egyptian times into the Mamluk period in Egypt, where fish are shown circling a central motif.<sup>126</sup> It was found particularly on the interiors of metalwork basins, as well as on glass. Ettinghausen has traced the origins of the motif of fish or birds encircling a central motif, which he argues is an

<sup>125</sup> Pascual and Martí, *Los orígenes*, p.121.

<sup>126</sup> Ernst Grube, 'Studies in the Survival and Continuity of Pre-Muslim Traditions in Egyptian Islamic Art', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 1 (1962) p.87.

ancient one connected with the sun.<sup>127</sup> He notes that the fact that the vessels were intended to hold water means that the fish also took on a realistic aspect; the decoration, just as that in the Paterna basin, would reflect the purpose of the vessel.

In Baer's study of the fourteenth-century inlaid metalwork Mamluk bowl known as the 'Modena Bowl' she focuses on the fishpond motif in its interior. Fish and various imagined and real sea animals are arranged around a central solar motif. She argues that the image was intended to convey more than just the idea of the water in the vessel; as well as conveying an idea of the fauna of foreign seas it may have had an allegorical meaning as the central sun being the source of life and water, and its depiction on a basin therefore a blessing on the owner for eternal life.<sup>128</sup> The Paterna basin, with its heraldic motif in the centre, may be read in a similar way as both a literal reference to the water contained in a basin, and an allegorical reference to señorial power.

As Baer demonstrates, this swirling fish around a central motif was popular in thirteenth and fourteenth century metalwork such as the inlaid metal thirteenth century 'Wade Cup' at the Cleveland museum of Art (*Fig. 153*), or the 'Baptistère de Saint Louis' in the Musée du Louvre from the fourteenth century. Ortega makes the connection between the images of swimming fish in Teruel ceramics from the fourteenth century and Mamluk inlaid metalwork, noting the Paterna basin as a similar example of this motif.<sup>129</sup>

Two Paterna vessels in the Catalogue are decorated with a motif of three fish in a radial formation, with their heads merged into one at the centre (Cats.173 and 194).

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<sup>127</sup> Richard Ettinghausen, 'The 'Wade Cup' in the Cleveland Museum of Art, its Origins and Decorations', *Ars Orientalis*, 2 (1957) pp.350-52.

<sup>128</sup> Eva Baer, 'Fish-Pond' Ornaments on Persian and Mamluk Metal Vessels', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 31:1 (London, 1968) pp.14-27.

<sup>129</sup> Ortega Ortega, *Operis Terre Turolii*, pp.164-65.



Left: Cat.173. Right: Cat.194.

Pascual and Martí suggest that this is a theme imported originally from China, which perhaps suggested a visual game.<sup>130</sup> The same motif appears on the reverse of a large, fifteenth century lustre and blue painted bowl from Manises, below (Fig.154).<sup>131</sup>



Fig.154 Left: Reverse of lustre-painted plate, Manises. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv.no.:0A 9004. (Image from *Le calife, le prince et le potier*, p.107.)

Fig.155 Right: Folio from the sketchbook of thirteenth century French architect, Villard de Honnecourt, Ms Fr 19093 f.19v Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. (Image © BN, France.)

The dispersal and historical occurrences of this motif are discussed in an article on the subject, which reveals its use on ceramics in Egypt from 1900BC to Coptic times, in a possibly Coptic wall carving in Southern Upper Egypt, as well as on a terracotta platter from a tomb in Vietnam dating from around two thousand years ago.<sup>132</sup> These objects all show the three fish with a common head, meeting at the centre. The same motif is

<sup>130</sup> Pascual and Martí, *Los origenes*, p.122.

<sup>131</sup> The motif of three fish meeting at the centre of a bowl is also found on one of the tin-glazed ceramics decorated with cobalt blue and lustre which was found at Pula, Sardinia, and made in Valencia. See Blake, 'Pula', no.28 p.384.

<sup>132</sup> Carl Schuster, 'A perennial puzzle: the motive [sic] of three fish with a common head', Krishna Bharatha Iyer and Ananda Coomooraswamy (eds.), *Art and Thought. Issued in honour of Dr. Ananda K. Coomooraswamy on the occasion of his 70th Birthday* (London, 1947), pp.116-125. See also W. Krönig, 'Ägyptische Fayence-Schalen des Neuen Reiches (eine motivgeschichtliche untersuchung)', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo* (1934) pp.144-166.

found on a number of sherds from Mamluk Egypt and on a tin-glazed plate from Orvieto, Italy (*Fig.156*), as well as in the upper right corner of the thirteenth-century French manuscript of Villard de Honnecourt (*Fig.155*).<sup>133</sup>



*Fig.156* Tin-glazed bowl with green and brown pigments, Orvieto, Italy, thirteenth century. Collection of Palazzo Venezia, Rome. (From Krönig, 'Ägyptische Fayence-Schalen', Plate XXIIIe.)

This distribution, which appears to be spread over a long period of time in the Mediterranean region in particular, suggests a popular motif with some kind of symbolic meaning. Schuster notes that in modern China the image of the fish can represent the idea of excess or superfluity (from the similarity between the sounds of the words for 'fish' and 'more' in Chinese);<sup>134</sup> it is possible that the three fish image in Paterna also represented such abundance.

A small group of vessels are decorated with a different type of fish, a triangular shape with fins and a face, which appears to be a kind of shellfish (eg.Cat.195). This may represent the scallop shell, emblem of St. James and of the pilgrims who visited his shrine in Santiago de Compostela. The scallop shell was associated with Christian pilgrims to the shrine at Santiago from the twelfth century.<sup>135</sup> A pilgrim wearing a scallop shell at his waist is shown in this carved stone tympanum (*Fig.158*) on the cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Autun in central France from the early twelfth century. The scallop shell was also used in architectural decoration in al-Andalus, such as on the

<sup>133</sup> These examples are illustrated in Schuster, 'A Perennial Puzzle', p.121, except the Orvieto plate which is in Krönig, 'Ägyptische Fayence-Schalen', pl.xxiii e.

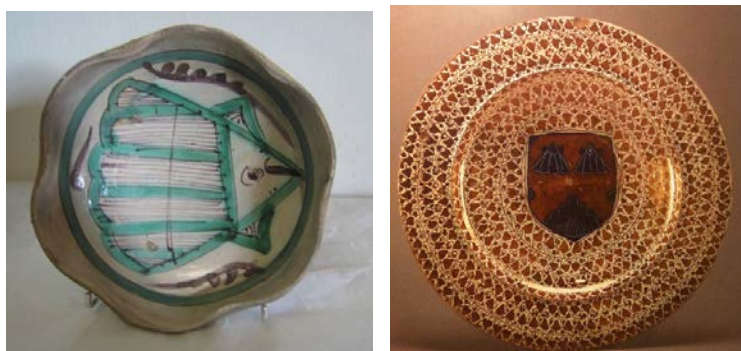
<sup>134</sup> Schuster, 'A Perennial Puzzle', p.117.

<sup>135</sup> Mâle, *Religious Art*, p.295.



Mudéjar ceiling of Santa María la Blanca, the twelfth-century former synagogue of in Toledo.

The motif was also an heraldic one by the fifteenth century, as a large lustre and blue plate from Manises shows (*Fig.157*), with two scallop shells possibly representing the coat of arms of the Pisan, Giovanni Aleotto, or of the Truvarge family.<sup>136</sup> It is difficult to know whether in Paterna ware, this motif may have been related to the pilgrimage scallop shell or to specific heraldry; it occurs in a small number of vessels and without reference to other motifs.



Left: Cat.195.

*Fig.157* Right: Lustre-painted plate with cobalt, Manises, 1435-75. Hispanic Society of America, New York, Inv.E590. (From Ecker, *Caliphs*, p.95 plate 76).



*Fig.158* Detail of a carved stone tympanum on the cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Autun, France. Early twelfth century.

<sup>136</sup> Heather Ecker, *Caliphs and Kings: the art and influence of Islamic Spain* (New York, 2004), Plate 76 p.95 and catalogue entry p.157.

## Mythical beasts

A dragon-like beast features in a group of Paterna vessels. It is a mixture of bird and reptile, with large, bird-like clawed feet and feathered, winged bodies, but with long necks with long tongues and ears and a large, curled tail (Cats.197-213). Exact parallels are found in Teruel ceramics (*Fig.159*); very similar animals are also found on the painted ceiling at Teruel cathedral.<sup>137</sup> In many of the depictions in Paterna ware the beast twists its head around to look backwards over its tail, while in others it faces forwards.



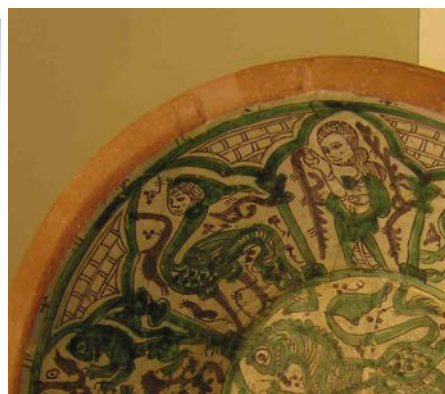
*Fig. 159* Tin-glazed bowl, fourteenth-century Teruel. Museo Provincial de Teruel, Teruel.

On the Liria ceiling, a beast is shown with a curled tail just like the tail of the Paterna dragon, but with a human rather than reptile head (*Fig.160*); a parallel for which is found on Teruel ceramics from a similar date to the Paterna ware (*Fig.161*).



*Ilustración n.º 38*

*Fig. 160* Left: Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)



*Fig. 161* Right: Detail of tin-glazed bowl, fourteenth-century Teruel. Museo Provincial de Teruel, Teruel.

<sup>137</sup> Rabanaque Martín, *El Artesonado*, pp. 105, 153 and 158 for example.



Another type of mythical beast, a griffin-type creature, is found in decorated ceramics such as this decorated fragment from Albarracín (*Fig.162*) and a bowl from Agrigento in Sicily (*Fig.163*).



*Fig. 162* Fragment of a tin-glazed bowl decorated with green and brown pigments, Albarracín, eleventh century. Museo de Albarracín, Aragon, Inv.OBJ.703.

*Fig. 163* Glazed and decorated bowl, excavated at Agrigento, Sicily, eleventh century. Museo Regionale della Ceramica, Caltagirone, Sicily.

Like the Paterna beast, they have a staring eye, large ears and a protruding tongue.<sup>138</sup>

However, unlike the Paterna beasts, they have thick, short necks and appear to wear some kind of a collar or ring around their necks (not found in Paterna), while they do not seem to have the bird-shaped body of the Paterna beast.

Mythical beasts, often some combination of human, animal and bird such as the griffin or the sphinx, are found throughout the Islamic decorative repertoire, particularly in the ceramics and metalwork of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (the 'Pisa Griffin' for example). Examples of mythical beasts drawn in *sgraffito* on glazed amphorae are found, for example, in Crusader pottery from Syria, such as that excavated at Al Mina from the thirteenth century.<sup>139</sup> However, western, Christian sources seem to provide a closer stylistic source for the Paterna style dragon-beast. The motif is found on carved stone, cloister capitals, at Santa María de l'Estany (*Fig.164*) for example.

<sup>138</sup> An image of an animal with a similar body, but missing its head section, decorates a ceramic tin-glazed bowl from tenth century Valencia, see Bazzana (ed.) *La Cerámica Islámica*, p.111, no.285, Inv.917.0076, Fig.35, Lam.VII.

<sup>139</sup> Arthur Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria', *Archaeologia*, 87 (1938), 20-78. Also Nancy Patterson Sevcenko, 'Some Thirteenth-Century Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28 (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), pp.353-360. See also Tasha Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina: a port of Antioch from Late Antiquity to the End of the Ottomans* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2005).



*Fig.164* Detail of a carved stone capital in the cloisters at the monastery of Santa María de l'Estany, Catalonia. (From [www.claustro.com](http://www.claustro.com), Juan Antonio Olañeta.)

Similarly in twelfth-century enamel work a dragon like the Paterna beast appears. An eleventh-century, Islamic carved ivory casket made in Cuenca was adapted in the twelfth century by enamellers working for the Benedictine monks at the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, where champlevé enamel and gilt copper mounts were added (*Fig.165*). The fantastic dragon-like beasts which surround the image of the lamb of God (see below) are similar to those Paterna dragon beasts, with their bird bodies and claws, curled tails, long necks with heads twisted to look backwards, short ears and reptile-like heads.



*Fig.165* Detail of carved ivory and enamelled casket, eleventh century, Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos. Museo de Burgos, Spain.

In another example, at either Castile or Limoges, an enamel on copper casket was made in the mid-twelfth century which also features these large clawed dragon beasts, but this time alongside the human-headed, bird-bodied beasts which featured in the Teruel bowl and Liria ceiling.<sup>140</sup>

### **Pseudo Arabic Writing**<sup>141</sup>

Pseudo Arabic writing appears in Paterna ware both as a primary decorative feature and as a secondary feature, alongside images of animals and geometric motifs (Cats.214-53). The writing is decorative and seems to be a pseudo script rather than legible Arabic text. In some cases the writing is confined to a central roundel or radial panel, where its form is outlined with brown manganese (eg.Cat.214).



Left: Cat.214. Right: Cat.227.

In other cases, (Cat.227) the writing has become an abstract form and only comparison with more 'legible' writing makes it recognisable as a pseudo Arabic script. In this case the abstract script is found on the upper and lower horizontal bands, in green, outlined and etched with brown.

<sup>140</sup> Casket, Castile or Limoges, c.1150-75, champlevé enamel on gilt copper, wood core, 12.4 x 18.9 x 8.5cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See exhibition catalogue *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1993), pp.276-77, no.133.

<sup>141</sup> The term 'pseudo-kufic' refers to ornament resembling *kufic* script, also called 'kufesque'. Ettinghausen argued that the term 'pseudo-kufic' has connotations of falseness or pretention which refer to the illegibility of the inscriptions as a whole, but notes that the letters themselves are often still legible. Richard Ettinghausen 'Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World', *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles (1904-1975)*, (New York 1976) p.28. Mack prefers the term 'pseudo Arabic' as it does not assume an association with a particular calligraphic script; this is the term I shall use here as the use of 'kufic' itself is outdated and that script is not necessarily the source of these motifs. Rosamond Mack *Bazaar to Piazza. Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300-1600* (Berkeley, University of California Press 2001) p.51.

The floriated 'kufic' script that was used as a decorative feature in eleventh-century ceramics from al-Andalus (*Figs.166-168*), uses features such as wide and decorative character tops, a style which may be the source of inspiration for some of the inscriptions found on Paterna ware such as that below (*Cat.218*).



*Fig.166* Tin-glazed bowl, Madinat al-Zahra, tenth century. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, Inv.63.043. (From Dodds (ed.) *Al Andalus* p.232 no.25).

*Fig.167* Tin-glazed bowl, Benetússer, eleventh century. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, Valencia, Inv.6/1400.

*Fig.168* Tin-glazed bowl, Albarracín, eleventh century. Museo de Albarracín, Aragon, Inv.OBJ.710.



*Cat.218*.

The use of Arabic writing on ceramics dates back to the earliest glazed ware of ninth century Iraq, and legible calligraphic motifs were enthusiastically adopted in caliphal al-Andalus. The popular Arabic formula, *al-mulk*, meaning 'power' and 'kingship', was often used to decorate caliphal ceramics associated with Madinat al-Zahra, usually in a horizontal band across the centre of the piece, repeated across the diameter as if into infinity. Although legible, the function of the text on these ceramics is both decorative and talismanic; the second version of the word *mulk* on the Madinat al-Zahra bowl (*Fig.166*) is unfinished, which suggests that the image of these words has become emblematic, instantly recognisable and understood like a logo is today. This *al-mulk* formula would become widespread on decorative arts under Almohad rule in the late twelfth century.



This symbolic, logo-type function of *al-mulk* led to it becoming a kind of symbol of power and kingship, as much as the emblem of the lion or the seated prince were symbols of royal authority in Christian and Islamic art. In style and form, the Paterna ware script has been highly stylized and made decorative, to the point of geometric abstraction, but there is a similarity in shape to the *al-mulk* formula, which may be what is implied in these Paterna vessels.

It has been suggested in a number of studies of the use of pseudo Arabic motifs in decorative art made in a Christian context, that this combination of short and long characters can be read as the word 'Allah'.<sup>142</sup> Erdmann made a survey of the motifs derived from Arabic script in Christian art, including 145 examples from the art of medieval Europe, noting their proliferation from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.<sup>143</sup> Ettinghausen, whose article included pseudo Arabic writing made in an Islamic context, described the pattern found most frequently among these motifs as the 'tall-short-tall syndrome', namely a pair of tall characters framing a central lower character.<sup>144</sup>

Some of the Paterna epigraphic pieces may conform to this 'tall-short-tall pattern, see Cat.217 for example. However most of the pseudo Arabic motifs particularly those shorter motifs (e.g. Cat.214) show two tall characters framed by two short ones, which could not be read as 'Allah'. A similar organisation of characters is painted on the Liria ceiling (Fig.171).

Furthermore, while the word 'Allah' is included in the *bismillah* and found in longer inscriptions in Islamic art (for example the Arabic phrase '*wa lā ghāliba illā-llāh*' ('There is no conqueror but God') is frequently found on Nasrid art), it is rarely used alone on ceramics. The most common epigraphic motifs on ceramics from al-Andalus are the

<sup>142</sup> This was first suggested by Eustache de Lorey in 'Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne', *Revue de Arts Asiatiques* 12 (1938), pp.20-31.

<sup>143</sup> Kurt Erdmann *Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters* (Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1953, Nr.9) (Mainz-Wiesbaden, 1954) pp.467-513.

<sup>144</sup> Ettinghausen, 'Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World', pp.39-40.

single words ‘*al-mulk*’ or ‘*barakat*’ or longer phrases of benediction.<sup>145</sup> It is more probable that if the Paterna pseudo Arabic motifs are to be read at all, they derive from these common Arabic formulae that are frequently found on ceramics, rather than from the use of the single word ‘Allah’ for which there is no precedent on ceramics from the region.

The fact that the writing on the Paterna ceramics may not be strictly legible, does not necessarily mean the potters were illiterate. There are many examples of the use of pseudo script in the Islamic world. In the eleventh-century Fatimid dynasty, textiles with inscriptions, known as *tirāz*, were made for the court and for public consumption. While the private textiles produced for the court, *tirāz al-khassa*, were inscribed with legible and elegant Arabic scripts proclaiming blessings, pious formulae, the names of the caliph etc., the inscribed textiles made for public consumption and export, known as *tirāz al-‘amma*, sometimes included scripts which appeared legible, but on closer examination are revealed as meaningless.<sup>146</sup> Contadini suggests that these quasi-inscriptions should be read as a response of the *tirāz* industry to the public demand for these inscribed textiles; legible inscriptions were not essential on fabric for the public market, so a distortion of the script was permitted – what was important was the symbol of the *tirāz* band itself, not the actual meaning of the letters.<sup>147</sup>

Similarly, on Samanid slip-painted ware made in ninth- to eleventh-century Iran, there are perfectly legible and extremely fine epigraphic motifs, as well as many examples of abstracted and illegible epigraphic motifs (motifs which can be described as pseudo Arabic writing) made in the same style. The legible inscriptions comprise a mix of generic good wishes with more sophisticated quotations on codes of personal and

<sup>145</sup> See for example *Al Andalus* Cats.25 and 110 for ‘*al-mulk*’, Cat.109 for a longer benedictory phrase and Cat.111 for a variety of benedictory words.

<sup>146</sup> *Tiraz* fabrics such as some of those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. See Anna Contadini, ‘Textiles’ in *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1998) pp.53-4.

<sup>147</sup> Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, pp.53-4. See also Don Aanavi ‘Devotional Writing: “Pseudoinscriptions” in Islamic Art’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* Vol.26, no.9 (May 1968) pp.353-58 for further examples and discussion of the use of pseudo Arabic writing in Islamic art.

social conduct and the etiquette of eating, part of a tradition of literary epigraphy that may have originated in Abbasid Iraq.<sup>148</sup> The pseudo Arabic motifs seem to be based on Arabic letter forms, but have been abstracted to form meaningless patterns.<sup>149</sup>

In Paterna there are examples of legible Arabic writing inscribed on pottery wheel discs from as late as the fifteenth century (see *Fig.4*) and of legible Arabic being used in inscriptions on blue and white pottery from fifteenth-century Paterna (*Figs.169-70*). These legible motifs were not found on the earlier Paterna glazed ware, nor did the distinctive style of Paterna-ware pseudo script appear on the later blue and white ware; stylistically the blue and white ware is different from Paterna ware, but the legible Arabic written by potters who were working in Paterna in the fifteenth century suggests that this type of craftsman was not necessarily illiterate.



*Fig. 169* Left: Tin-glazed bowl, decorated with cobalt blue. Paterna, fifteenth century. Museo de Cerámica, Barcelona. Decorated with a benedictory inscription in Arabic and the names 'Gabriel José, son of Josep el Almani.' Signed on the reverse 'Josef el Halni'.

*Fig. 170* Right: Tin-glazed bowl, decorated with cobalt blue. Paterna, fifteenth century. Museo Nacional de Cerámica 'González Martí', Valencia. The repeated words can be clearly read as the Arabic 'alafia' formula invoking happiness.

The use of pseudo Arabic writing was therefore not one enforced by illiteracy, but was instead a specific decorative choice by Paterna potters to employ a motif which had become associated with royal patronage, kingship and authority. Even though it has become abstracted beyond real legibility, its form and style are highly suggestive of earlier uses of the same motif.

<sup>148</sup> Oya Pancaroğlu, 'Functions of Literary Epigraphy on Medieval Islamic Ceramics' (Oxford, 2001). A two-part essay contribution to web-based teaching course on Islamic ceramics developed at the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford; <http://IslamicCeramics.ashmol.ox.ac.uk>.

<sup>149</sup> Watson, 'Ceramics from Islamic Lands, Cat.Ga.12 and Cat.Ga.13, pp.214-15 in particular.

This invocation of power through the pseudo Arabic script is also found on the painted Liria ceiling (*Fig.171*) where, like in the Paterna bowl (*Cat.240*), it sits alongside heraldic, courtly and even Christian religious imagery, within a tri-lobed arch.



Ilustración n° 49

Left: *Cat.240*.

*Fig.171* Right: Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)

The pseudo script is sometimes found in conjunction with coats of arms, such as in (*Cat.228*). Here, neither the sideways coats of arms in the central horizontal panel, nor the abstract letter forms in the upper and lower panels are strictly legible. The coat of arms is generic, and placed sideways it has become an abstract form that suggests authority and significance in a Christian context.

Similarly, pseudo writing is found alongside a Greek cross symbol in another Paterna bowl (*Cat.245*). The juxtaposition of epigraphic symbols of power from an Islamic cultural context with the coats of arms invoking the power of western, Christian families, or the cross suggesting the power of Christian religious authorities, illustrates the extent to which in Paterna ware these motifs had become symbols divorced from any specific significance, but rather were used to symbolise authority and power in a more general sense.



Left: *Cat.228*. Right: *Cat.245*.



**Khams motif** (Cats.256, 276-81)

The motif of the five-fingered, open right hand is known as the *khams* in Arabic (from the Arabic word for 'five'). As a motif, the *khams* has existed for a long time in the Near East and Ancient Egypt where it expressed blessing, protection from evil and divine power.<sup>149</sup>

In Islamic iconography the motif can be associated with Shi'ite symbolism. In Iran it is also known as the hand of Abbas, from the story of the seventh-century battle of Karbala at which the hand of Abbas was amputated; the symbol occurs as finials of standards in Shi'ite processions.

However the symbol was more commonly associated with the western Islamic world, particularly North Africa and Iberia, while it was popular in decorative arts since the twelfth century.<sup>150</sup> It was worn as a protective amulet and affixed to objects and buildings, and was particularly associated with women and childbirth and used against infertility and jealousy.<sup>151</sup> The motif was not found in the caliphal or taifa ceramics of al-Andalus, but seems to have been introduced into the peninsula by the Almohads. A striking instance of its use in Spanish ceramics is in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century lustre-painted bowl, in which two figures sit either side of the *khams* motif (Fig.172).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Richard Ettinghausen, 'Notes on the Lusterware of Spain', *Ars Orientalis* I (1954) pp.148-154.

<sup>150</sup> The term 'hand of Fatima' is often used to describe this motif, which may be a relatively recent term. The religious association with Fatima may have been propagated through oral or perhaps hagiographic literature, but in fact there is little evidence to connect the *khams* with the Fatimid dynasty or even historically with Fatima herself. The first documented note of the term 'hand of Fatima' in Spain is said to have been in 1526 when the council of archbishops called by the Emperor Charles V in Spain banned the wearing of the symbol as an amulet and ordered it to be replaced by crosses. See Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, 'Discerning the Hand-of-Fatima: An Iconological Investigation of the Role of Gender in Religious Art' in Amira El-Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005) p.357.

<sup>151</sup> Much of this information comes from a paper given by Dr Fahmida Suleman at the 2009 conference *People of the Prophet's House: Art, Architecture and Shiism in the Islamic World* held at the British Museum, London, as well as subsequent personal email communications with Dr Suleman for which I am grateful.

<sup>152</sup> See Marilyn Jenkins, cat. entry no. 103 p.53, *The Art of Medieval Spain*. Jenkins dates the bowl to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries from Malaga, based on comparisons with lustre-painted *bacini* dated to the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries. However, stylistically this bowl is more in keeping with an Almohad style from the early thirteenth century; a time



Fig.172 Left: Lustre-painted bowl, 23.5cm diameter, Almohad al-Andalus, early thirteenth century. Detroit Institute of Arts, Inv.26.181. (Image © Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit.)

Fig.173a Centre: Drawing of tin-glazed bowl excavated at Alarcos, Ciudad Real. Museo de Ciudad Real, Inv. CE000210. (From Retuerce Velasco, 'La cerámica almohade', no.6).

Fig.173b Right: Photograph of the tin-glazed bowl in Fig.173a. Image © Museo Provincial de Ciudad Real, Ministerio de Cultura.)

A more precisely-dated example of the motif, which was made some time between 1195 and 1212, was excavated at Alarcos near Ciudad Real (Fig.173).<sup>153</sup> This time decorated in green and brown on a tin glaze (with a lead-glazed exterior), this large Almohad bowl (38cm in diameter) shows an arm with an open right hand, flanked by two birds in profile. Both occurrences of the motif suggest that the *kham*s held protective properties which engendered loyalty and submission by its users (the two figures in Fig.172 and the birds in Figs.173a,b). Jenkins suggests that the motif of the open hand has a North African origin dating back to Punic stelae from the third and second centuries BC.<sup>154</sup>

These same symbolic functions were probably intended in Paterna ware (see Cats.276-81), where the function of the motif is clear from its use alongside other motifs associated with power, such as the coats of arms (Cat.256). It also had a decorative function, appearing alongside geometric and floral motifs for example at the

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when the *kham*s motif was popular in decorative arts of al-Andalus. Lustre-painted ceramics were not only made in Malaga, indeed this bowl and the Almohad lustre painted *bacino* (see Dodds (ed.) *Al Andalus* p.346 no.103) may have been made at the established ceramics centre in Murcia.

<sup>153</sup> Retuerce Velasco and de Juan García, 'La cerámica almohade'. The dates 1195-1212 correspond to the period of Almohad rule in Alarcos; excavations from a stratigraphic level consistent with this 17-year rule include this bowl.

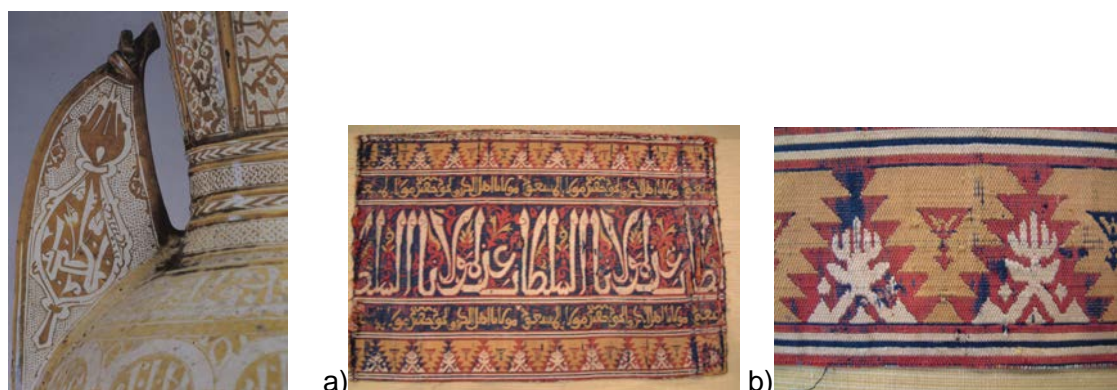
<sup>154</sup> Marilyn Jenkins entry p.103 no.53, n.1 in *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D.500-1200* (New York, 1993).

top of this unusual stamped glazed jug excavated in Paterna possibly from the fourteenth century (*Fig.174*).



*Fig. 174* Paterna, fourteenth century. Stamped and glazed jug with detail of upper section (right). Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna, Inv.HU/97/5148.

The *khams* motif is found on several of the lustre-painted ‘Alhambra’ vases made under the Nasrid empire of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century al-Andalus (*Fig.175*).



*Fig. 175* Left: ‘Alhambra Vase’, Nasrid, early fourteenth century, 117cm (h). Glazed and lustre-painted earthenware. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Inv.F317. (From Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.356 no.111.)

*Figs.176* Centre and right: Silk textile fragment (a) and detail (b), Nasrid, fourteenth century, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.

The motif also appears in Nasrid textiles, such as this silk piece (*Fig.176*) inscribed with the motif ‘Glory to our Lord the Sultan’, in which the *khams* is repeated along the upper and lower horizontal bands flanking the central inscription.

The *khams* was also symbolic in Jewish culture, particularly among the Sephardic Jews of Spain, where it was known as the ‘hand of Miriam’, the five fingers represent the five books of the Torah. It had the same protective function against the evil eye as it did among the rest of the population. In this Paterna bowl (Cat.280) the *khams*

contains the seal of Solomon or Star of David, possibly alluding to Jewish symbolism, or simply including various protective symbols for added benefit to the owner.



Cat.280

The *khams* was painted in manganese on this unglazed earthenware jar excavated in Paterna (Fig.177), in which large *khams* motifs flank a circular motif.



Fig.177 Earthenware jar decorated with manganese brown, sgraffito and turquoise glaze dots. Paterna, fourteenth century. Museu de Ceràmica, Paterna, Inv.HU/97/5951. Right: Cat.256.

The apotropaic function of the *khams* in Paterna ware, like the pseudo Arabic epigraphy, the pseudo heraldry and the images of royal animals like lions and bulls, meant it was used in ceramics and other media as a protective symbol. It was not associated with a religious affinity to Shi'i Islam or even especially to Islam, as this heraldic plate from fourteenth-century Paterna, with the recognisable coats of arms of the Luna and Aragon families (above right) demonstrates: it also has two *khams* symbols in the lower and upper horizontal registers, perhaps conferring a protective spirit on the celebration of the wedding or the marriage.

## Geometric and Vegetal motifs

Geometric and vegetal motifs form the backbone of ornamentation on Paterna ware, appearing in some form on every piece. The geometric shapes, which form the basis of many of the motifs, include triangles, crosses, squares, stars, spirals, stripes and zig-zags. Leaf scrolls, pine cones, split palmettes, branches and flowers are the principal vegetal and floral motifs. These are all used throughout Paterna ware not only as primary decorative motifs but also as important secondary elements that occupy the spaces around a central motif.

## Spirals

Spirals are found in a large number of the vessels, particularly in those without figural decoration, to fill in spaces between larger decorative forms. So for example in this piece below left (Cat.182), the two fish and pseudo Arabic writing make up the primary decoration; the writing is drawn with a thick brown line, but the areas surrounding the writing are filled with spirals and scrolls fill in contour panels. This horizontal arrangement is replaced (Cat.304) by a circular arrangement of palmette motifs, painted in thick brown and green colours, with a thick brown and green line around the rim; the spaces between are filled with brown spirals in contour panels.



Left: Cat.182. Right: Cat.304.

These spirals do not feature as primary decoration but act as a way of providing texture and contrast against the green and brown colours and the white background, similar to the use of sgraffito decoration on lustre painted pottery. This spiral infill technique is different from the white backgrounds of caliphal and taifa ceramics, in which the



opaque colour of the tin glaze was left undecorated to contrast with the primary motif, without infill decoration.

Antecedents for the spiral infill motif may be found in the lustre-painted Fatimid ceramics from the eleventh century.<sup>155</sup> Using a technique that may originate in decorated metalwork objects, in Fatimid ceramics spirals are often set within contour panels and act as a frame or infill around the primary motifs (*Fig.178*).



*Figs.178* Lustre-painted bowl (a) with detail (b), showing the use of scrolled infill motif in contour panels. Egypt, eleventh century. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo. (Image © Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.)

A similar technique, this time using hatching and dots as infill around a primary motif, was used on the ceramic *bacini* made in Mallorca and dated to the eleventh century. This *bacino* (*Fig.179*) uses green and brown lines, dots and semi-circles to give a similar effect of texture to the infill of the motif.



*Fig.179* Tin-glazed *bacino*, from Mallorca, late tenth or early eleventh century. From the facade of the church of San Piero a Grado, Pisa. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Inv.18. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.)

Spirals were also used as background decoration in Nasrid lustre-painted wares from Malaga (on the neck of the 'Alhambra' vase *Fig.175*, for instance), suggesting that by

<sup>155</sup> Philon, *Early Islamic*, pp.163-181, where it is clear that although the infilled contour panel appears in early Fatimid ceramics, the use of scrolled and spiral infill is confined to the pieces dated to the late tenth to mid-eleventh centuries.

this stage (early fourteenth century), the practice was widespread among decorated ceramics in Iberia. The Paterna spiral infill technique may ultimately derive from metalwork decoration or from the decorated ceramics such as those made in nearby Mallorca or Nasrid Malaga.

### Palmettes

The palmettes illustrated above in both Cat.304 and in the earlier *bacino* from Mallorca (Fig.179) are examples of another motif that is frequently used on Islamic ceramics from across the Mediterranean region. It is smaller than the pine cone or tree motif discussed below, and unlike these motifs, the palmette is usually not connected with a 'stem' or branch linking it to something else, but is used often in combination with other palmette motifs in an abstract design. We see this for example in Cats.303-305, and 311. The palmette does not have the imbrications that distinguish the pine cone motif, but instead they are sometimes filled with a tri-lobed leaf with stems or with simple lines. The palmette is found in Fatimid lustre-painted ceramics,<sup>156</sup> but possibly more relevant to Paterna ware in terms of chronology and geographical distance is its use in ceramics from Mallorca, such as Fig.179 that demonstrates a radial arrangement around a central circle similar to that found in Cat.305.

### Scrolls

Scrolled palmettes and floral motifs were also used in Paterna ware as the background motifs for many of the figurative pieces. A scrolled line in manganese brown with small leaves coming off it at intervals, ending in a lobed palmette in copper green, frequently surrounds central primary motifs (Cat.97). This scrolled vegetal motif, which has its origins in classical traditions, was common in Fatimid lustre-painted ceramics (Fig.180).<sup>157</sup> Having been absent from the green and brown tradition of caliphal and

<sup>156</sup> An example is the late tenth to early eleventh century lustre-painted bowl with radial palmette motifs around a central circle, enclosing a star with a bird inside, illustrated in Philon *Early Islamic Ceramics* p.142 Plate XVI.

<sup>157</sup> Watson, *Ceramics*, p.279 Cat.Ja.7.

taifa ware, it appears in this twelfth-century lustre-painted bowl, which was possibly made in Murcia (*Fig.181*).<sup>158</sup> Similar leaf scrolls appear on the ceiling at Liria, filling the spaces above the lobed arches for example (*Fig.182*).



*Fig.180* Left: Lustre-painted bowl, Egypt eleventh century. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Inv.14926 (30cm diam.). (Image © Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.)

*Fig.181* Centre: Lustre-painted *bacino*, early twelfth century, Spain (Murcia?). From the facade of the church of San Andrea, Pisa. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Inv.232. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.)

Right: Cat.97.



*Fig.182* Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)

However, it is not possible to pinpoint a particular, exact source for these scrolled motifs in Paterna ware, as this was also a feature of classical art, and was a motif found across media including in carved stucco and stone capitals in al-Andalus. Interlacing scrolls and leaf motifs decorated the carved stone at Madinat al-Zahra for example, and the carved ivory caskets made in caliphal Cordoba. This carved marble relief (*Fig.183*) from Madinat al-Zahra shows the scrolling and interlacing leaf motif, inherited from the classical world; this scroll and leaf device was used as a primary decorative motif in horizontal bands in this *bacino* (*Fig.184*) and features as a primary motif in this Paterna bowl (Cat.339).

<sup>158</sup> Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.346 no.103.





Fig.183 Left: Marble relief from Madinat al-Zahra, tenth century. Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba, Inv.487 (104 x 50cm). (From Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.242 no.35).

Fig.184 Centre: Tin-glazed *bacino*, probably North Africa, eleventh to twelfth century. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.)

Right: Cat.339.

The scroll motif was also found in the western, Christian Mediterranean world, in media including illuminated manuscripts such as these folia from *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts (Figs.185-86), as well as in carved stone capitals. The classical origins of this scroll motif meant that it was well integrated into both western European and Islamic decorative traditions by the fourteenth century.



Fig.185 Left: Miniature painting from a fourteenth-century French *Roman de la Rose* manuscript. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5210, f.1r. (Image © BN, France.)

Fig.186 Right: Miniature painting from a thirteenth-century French *Roman de la Rose* manuscript. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr.1559, f1v. (Image © BN, France.)

### Chequered motif

The chequered motif is another geometric design found in Paterna ware for which parallels can be found among the Pisan *bacini*. This plate (Cat.319) has curved green interlacing squares, the spaces filled with spirals in contour panels. It is a simple design but is executed with great skill and confidence, which gives the piece a sense of balance and harmony. The vessel to its right is a *bacino* (Fig.187) which was made in

Pisa in the early thirteenth century, which demonstrates a similar chequer motif, but is executed with less confidence than the Paterna piece, shown in the slightly wobbly lines and unsure marks of the Pisan piece.<sup>159</sup> The motif, which may have transferred from textiles,<sup>160</sup> is also found on early lustre-painted ware such as this bowl, which has been attributed to Fatimid Egypt (*Fig.188*), and which can also be compared with Cats.316-18 and 359. However, a direct transfer from Fatimid to Paterna ware is unlikely as no Fatimid material has been found in the Paterna area; a common source for the motif, on media such as textiles, is more probable.



Left: Cat.319.

*Fig.187* Tin-glazed *bacino*, Pisa, late thirteenth century. From the facade of the church of S. Cecilia, Pisa. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Inv.311. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.)

*Fig.188* Lustre-painted ceramic bowl, attributed to early Fatimid Egypt. (*La Céramique Égyptienne de l'Époque Musulmane*, Musée de l'Art Arabe du Caire (Cairo, 1922), p.13).

## Stars

The six-pointed interlaced star motif is a geometric form for which parallels with Paterna examples (such as Cat.340-1, 368 and 397) can be found among the *bacini* such as this Andalusí lustre-painted bowl below (*Fig.189*). The star motif is interlaced and the interstices are filled with spirals framed with triangular shapes. Similar stars are found in Fatimid ceramics, such as this lustre fragment, which has a six-pointed star with spiral infill within triangular frames (*Fig.190*). A direct relationship with Fatimid

<sup>159</sup> *Le Vert et le Brun*, no.114. The bowl was embedded in the façade of the church of S. Cecilia in Pisa, now at Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, no.311.

<sup>160</sup> In Lisa Golombek's article on the role of textiles in Islamic society, she argues that textiles played an important role in the transfer of motifs across media. She notes in particular the geometric forms such as interlace which are inherent in the structure of textiles, began to appear in Islamic art by the ninth century. Lisa Golombek, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', from Priscilla P. Soucek (ed.), *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988) pp.25-38.

material is not presumed however, as this common geometric motif was widespread by the tenth century in the Islamic decorative arts.<sup>161</sup>



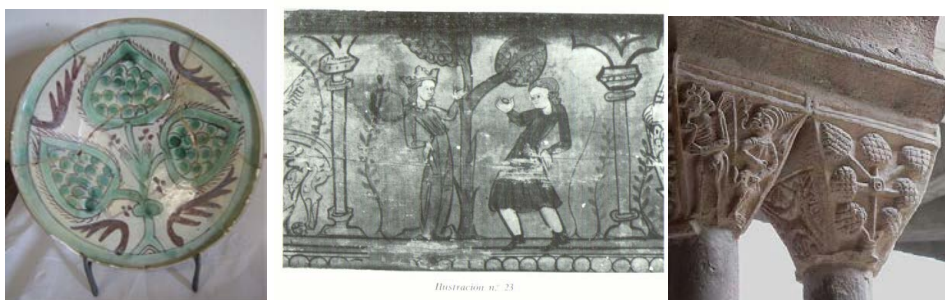
Fig.189 Left: Lustre-painted *bacino*, al-Andalus (Murcia?), early twelfth century. From the facade of the church of S. Andrea, Pisa. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa Inv.201. (Image © Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.)

Centre: Cat.340.

Fig.190 Right: Sepia photograph of a lustre-painted ceramic dish, Fatimid Egypt eleventh to twelfth century. (From *La Céramique Égyptienne de l'Époque Musulmane* p.10).

### Pine cones and trees

Both the pine cone motif and the single tree motif are features of Paterna ware which appears both as secondary decoration, flanking figures or castles, and as a primary motif, in this three-leaved example (Cat.294). A lobed pine tree motif appears both in the carved stone cloisters at Santa María de l'Estany (Fig.192) and on the painted Liria ceiling (Fig.191). This motif is also found in Fatimid lustre-painted ceramics.<sup>162</sup>



Left: Cat.294.

Fig.191 Centre: Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)

Fig.192 Right: Detail of a carved stone capital on the south gallery of the cloisters at the monastery of Santa María de l'Estany, Catalonia. (From [www.claustro.com](http://www.claustro.com), Juan Antonio Olañeta.)

The tree, particularly when placed in a central position and flanked by figures or animals, is often associated in Islamic art with the garden of paradise and the tree of

<sup>161</sup> A.J. Lee, 'Islamic Star Patterns', *Muqarnas*, 4 (Leiden, 1987) p.186.

<sup>162</sup> Marilyn Jenkins, 'The Palmette Tree: a study of the iconography of Egyptian lustre-painted pottery', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 7 (Cairo, 1968) pp.119-126.



life in the Koran. In Iberian contexts the motif is ubiquitous in the decorative arts of al-Andalus - in textiles and ceramics in particular (Figs.193-94).<sup>163</sup>



Fig.193 Left: Detail of silk twill chasuble, probably made in Almería, early twelfth century. Basilique Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. Victoria and Albert Museum, London Inv.828-1894. (From Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.318 no.87.)

Fig.194 Centre: Detail of silk textile, Almohad al-Andalus, late twelfth to early thirteenth century, Museo de Telas Medievales, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Huelgas, Burgos, Inv.00650512. (From Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus*, p.321 no.89).

Right: Cat.32.

A woven silk textile from the Almohad period (Fig.194, preserved as the pillow cover of Queen Berengaria (d.1246 AD)) shows a pair of dancing female figure flanking a central stylized tree. One figure plays the tambour while the other drinks from a cup. In one of the illustrations of the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, a central tree divides the figures (Fig.196). Similarly, in the Liria painted ceiling (Fig.195), trees act as focal points around which the figurative action takes place.



Fig.195 Left: Detail of the painted ceiling of the church of Sangre de Liria, Liria. (From Civera Marquino, *Techumbre*.)

Fig.196 Right: *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (Vat.Ar.Ris. 368 f.13), Vatican Library, Rome. (Image © Vatican Library, Rome.)

In a Christian context, the tree is related to both fertility and the creation story of Adam and Eve and the tree of knowledge, but this motif is an apple or fig tree, usually with a

<sup>163</sup> For examples, see Dodds (ed.), *Al Andalus* p.237 no.30 and p.318 no.87.

serpent twined around its trunk, which is not found in Paterna ware.<sup>164</sup> Robinson has explored the significance of trees in late medieval Iberian art, suggesting that in a Christian context it acted as a symbol, a kind of stand-in, for the crucified Christ.<sup>165</sup> In Paterna ware however, there is no evidence that might support this religious interpretation. Tree and pine cone motifs in Paterna ware most probably derive from the Islamic and ultimately classical use of the motif as a symbol suggesting the tree of life.

### **Conclusion**

It is clear from this examination of the origins and meaning of iconography in Paterna ware that the potters had available to them a large repertoire of images on which they could draw. A comparison of the Paterna iconography with that of the glazed ceramics of Teruel and with the painted ceiling of the Liria church, reveals a close connection both stylistically and iconographically. There may have been a group of trained artists working in the region towards the end of the thirteenth century until the mid-fourteenth century, who were capable of decorating a variety of media; but the idea of a 'school of painting' is difficult to prove without the supporting evidence.<sup>166</sup>

The potters left no documentary evidence which might tell us more about possible sources of these images, but it is reasonable to assume that they were exposed to a variety of material culture which would have carried decorative imagery on it, in particular to textiles, illustrated manuscripts and the carved stone work, murals and painted ceilings of both religious and secular architecture in the Crown of Aragon. Representations of authority and power – the lion, the *al-mulk*, the pseudo coat of arms, for example – do not relate to a specific power or ruler, but may have been taken

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<sup>164</sup> Hall, *Dictionary*, pp.5, 307.

<sup>165</sup> Cynthia Robinson, 'Trees of Love, Trees of Knowledge: Toward the Definition of a Cross-Confessional Current in Late Medieval Iberian Spirituality', *Medieval Encounters*, 12:3 (Leiden, Boston, 2006) p.388.

<sup>166</sup> Coll *et al* (eds.) *La Edad de Oro*, p.255.

from images on other media such as textiles which were decorated with the view to proclaiming the owner's authority and power. There are many motifs which seem to be drawn directly from an Islamic culture, in particular the pseudo Arabic writing and much of the animal and geometric imagery, while others, such as the mermaid-like figure, seem to be taken from a specifically western, Christian context.

But it was the hybridity of culture in early fourteenth-century Paterna from which the potters seem to have drawn their primary inspiration; a culture in which Mudéjar potters created tableware for the wealthy, powerful figures who were the newly-settled Christian population from Catalonia and Aragon (although the majority population of Valencia was still Mudéjar), and where merchants from southern France brought textiles and traded ceramics. The culture of these figures was one steeped in the literary and oral traditions of courtly love and chivalric tales, in the symbolism and superstitions of the medieval Christian church and the songs and imagery from al-Andalus. This was the new, dominant culture of the kingdom of Valencia and it was this mix of cultures that was to have the primary influence on the motifs that decorated Paterna ware.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study of Paterna ceramics has been informed by several core questions, the response to which can make a substantial contribution to the scholarly understanding of ceramic art history. These questions are about the identity of the makers and their methods; the consumption of the ceramics and their social function; the sources and meaning of the decorative programme; and the relationship of Paterna ware to other decorated media as well as to other similarly decorated ceramics.

The question of the identity of the makers of Paterna ware was shown to be not a simple matter of Muslim, Mudéjar or Christian, but instead a much more complex set of interactions between the different communities who contributed to the production of these ceramics and other similar works of craftsmanship such as the painted ceilings.

Analysis of the historical evidence, both archaeological and documentary, confirmed that Paterna town was populated by Muslims at the time of the conquest, and it is likely that the potters were mostly Mudéjares when the industry started in the early fourteenth century. The methods, techniques and workshops employed in the production of these ceramics were inherited from an Islamic tradition that had been flourishing in al-Andalus for over three centuries. From the types of clay used by the Paterna potters to the specific ingredients of the glaze; from the Arab updraught kilns and the firing processes - these were techniques that linked the potters and their products to that Islamic world.

But the new Christian population played a significant role - perhaps during the fourteenth century as potters working alongside Mudéjares but certainly as merchants and buyers influencing the finished ceramics. The inclusion of western-style motifs in the decoration of the ceramics, influenced by chivalric themes, confirms the impact of the European Christian culture on the type of ceramics made in Paterna. The potters may have had wider spheres of influence than just Paterna, as close similarities

between Paterna, the ceramics of Teruel and the ceiling at Liria church, point to a direct connection between the centres.

Whether or not an organised group of particular artists was responsible for these disparate productions, the similarities in style and motif strongly suggest that there was an acceptable, even desirable, way to decorate both tableware and wooden church ceilings at the time. This penetration into Christian church interiors (corroborated by the Teruel tile excavated in a church interior) tells us that the distinctions along religious and cultural boundaries were possibly more blurred, less impenetrable, than we may imagine.

Therefore, although Mudéjares were largely responsible for making the ceramics, it is not correct to identify Paterna ware as exclusively Mudéjar pottery, given the Christian identity of the merchants, the buyers and the other diverse influences that bore on the finished product. The relationship between groups in post-conquest Paterna should be viewed as a kind of *conveniencia*. This refers to an arrangement by which economic and social goods outweigh sectarian divisions. Paterna ware was the product of a complex and mixed environment, which was influenced by the changing character of western Mediterranean society in the fourteenth century.

Analysis of how the ceramics were produced has revealed that the potters at work in Paterna were not just using local materials to make their ceramics. Improvements in shipping methods and the expansion of international trade revolutionised the ceramics industry in Valencia. The availability of tin from southwest England offered a new and reliable source for an essential, and hitherto relatively scarce, raw ingredient for the ceramics industry and this enabled Paterna ware to flourish. The possible impact of this new source of tin on the prestigious centres of lustreware and maiolica ceramics in Spain and Italy in the Renaissance is one that needs to be addressed in further study.



The question of who was using these ceramics has never really been addressed – it has been obscured by a different, more prestigious, market: the consumption by wealthy patrons of the luxury lustreware produced in these centres at a slightly later date. My analysis of the varied contexts of the sites where Paterna ware was found – Muslim and Christian, royal and more plebeian – leads to the conclusion that, while glazed ceramics would always have been considered something of a luxury, Paterna ware was more freely available to a wider population than later lustreware would become. Changing culinary and domestic practices in the fourteenth century may have helped to stimulate the production of Paterna ware on a commercial scale and made glazed, decorated ceramics available to more ordinary, domestic consumers, such as those who may have lived in Torre Bofilla in the fourteenth century.

There may also have been a wider consumption of Paterna ware outside the immediate Valencian region, as the distribution of a limited amount of Paterna ware across the medieval Crown of Aragon, in Sicily and southern France, suggests. The flow of textile merchants from southern France into Valencia in the fourteenth century stimulated international trade in the region, as the French traders brought luxury goods - including glazed ceramics - back to trading centres like Narbonne and Marseilles.

Specific sources for these motifs are difficult to pin down, but as far as possible an attempt has been made to find iconographical references from the region local to Paterna. So for example, while precedents for some of the motifs can be found in the art of the Fatimid dynasty, the geographical and chronological distance of Paterna ware from Fatimid rule and the lack of Fatimid finds in the local area, mean that closer intermediary sources needed to be found, such as ceramics or textiles from al-Andalus and from Valencia. In the way they are painted and the story they depict, many of the figurative images belong to a western tradition of folkloric tales and half-forgotten legends. The figure holding two fish, for example, may derive from the mermaid image or Melusine tale; or the group image of dancing figures raising their hands, apparently

dancing to the sound of some long-faded music. Coats of arms, though mostly generic, suggest an affinity with the pictorial language of power of wealthy Christian families, adopted here to lend an air of authenticity and status to the glazed earthenware bowls.

The search for meaning in the iconographical programme of Paterna ware reveals the close relationship between the decoration of the ceramics and other media. The lyrical tradition of chivalry and courtly love was shown to have played an important role in the iconography of Paterna ware through comparisons with contemporary illustrated manuscripts, enamelled caskets and carved stone capitals. At the same time, motifs that originated in the Islamic world and clearly feature prominently in the decorative scheme were drawn from the rich iconographic sources that were circulating in the western Mediterranean, probably on textiles, as well as on other ceramics in particular lustreware, on illustrated manuscripts and on other decorative objects of material culture from the Islamic lands.

Paterna ware was clearly part of a wider movement, not only in its specific decorative motifs but also in a particular ceramic aesthetic which favoured a white, tin-glazed base decorated with green and brown pigments. The debt owed by Paterna ware to antecedents from al-Andalus and the Maghreb is clear from this aesthetic and technique; and while Kühnel's hypothesis of a continuous production of this green and brown ware in al-Andalus cannot be entirely proved, it is evident that there was some level of continuous production of this ware in the western Mediterranean regions from the tenth to fourteenth centuries.

This continuous production, and in particular the flourishing of green and brown ware in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in centres around Italy, southern France and the Crown of Aragon, including Paterna, should be understood primarily as a consequence of the movement of potters and their workshops. At the same time, we cannot ignore the role played by merchants from these regions, in particular from southern France

and Italy, who included ceramics among the luxury goods they traded across the Mediterranean and actively fostered the production of certain types of glazed tableware.

Paterna ware does not conform neatly to any conventional academic niche of Islamic or European art history. Its apparent contradictions are many: it was made by mostly Muslim potters but with increasing influence from the Christian population, who were using Islamic techniques but choosing motifs that reflected a more western aesthetic, and it was consumed by both Muslim and Christian alike. It is perhaps because of these anomalies that a comprehensive, art-historical analysis that looks across traditional boundaries of religious and cultural allegiances, is so long overdue.

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